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CONTENTS OF VOLUME 74

	<i>page</i>
LITHIC ARROWHEADS OF THE CRAVEN AREA	1
R. S. RICHARDSON, J. A. RICHARDSON and J. A. THORP	
ALDBOROUGH ROMAN TOWN: EXCAVATIONS BY MISS D. CHARLESWORTH, 1961–73, AND BY RCHME, 1959–60	29
MARGARET SNAPE, PAUL BIDWELL and ALEXANDRA CROOM with contributions by A. ASPINALL, BRENDA DICKINSON, KAY HARTLEY, JOY LANGSTON and STEVEN WILLIS	
THE RE-EXCAVATION AND STUDY OF THE HELICON MOSAIC, ALDBOROUGH ROMAN TOWN	113
STEPHEN JOHNSON and DAVID S. NEAL, edited by MARGARET SNAPE, with contributions by C. BRONK RAMSEY, ALEXANDRA CROOM, ANNA CSELIK, JOY LANGSTON and PETER MARSHALL	
SOME ‘REDISCOVERED’ ROMAN FINDS FROM ALDBOROUGH AND VICTORIA CAVE, SETTLE	135
MARTIN J. DEARNE with a contribution by DAVID SHOTTER	
FOUR COIN HOARDS FROM NORTH YORKSHIRE	151
CRAIG BARCLAY	
FLAXTON: A TOWNSHIP IN TWO PARISHES	155
DAVID BOURNE	
THE FORTUNES OF THE TEMPEST FAMILY OF BRACEWELL AND BOWLING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY	169
R. W. HOYLE	
THE ORIGINS OF A YORKSHIRE DYNASTY: THE WILSONS OF ESHTON HALL	191
HERBERT MASTERSON	
THE JACOBITES OF YORKSHIRE	205
JONATHAN OATES	
RETAILING AT SELBY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	219
ROGER A. BELLINGHAM	
JAMES JEPSON BINNS: A YORKSHIRE ORGAN-BUILDER	235
KENNETH C. JACKSON	
OBITUARY: TOM FRENCH	247
BOOK REVIEWS	249

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO VOLUME 74

Craig Barclay is Keeper of Numismatics at the Yorkshire Museum in York.

Roger Bellingham was a partner in an East Yorkshire firm of solicitors for many years, but then decided to pursue his long-standing historical interests. After taking a degree in Regional and Local History at Hull University, he was awarded a Ph.D. by Leicester University.

David Bourne is a retired land agent and surveyor with an interest in historical matters, who has lived in Flaxton for twenty years.

Martin Dearne is an archaeologist, finds specialist and illustrator, adult education tutor and heritage course leader. He co-edited a work on the Romano-British archaeology of the Victoria Cave published in 1998.

Professor R. W. Hoyle is Professor of Rural History and Director of the Rural History Centre at the University of Reading. He published *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Politics of the 1530s* (Oxford University Press) in 2001.

Kenneth Jackson is a retired university lecturer, who has published extensively within textiles and contributed to last year's *YAJ*. He has been Chairman of the Skipton and Craven History Society and has published on the history of that area.

Stephen Johnson, who is currently Director of Operations at the Heritage Lottery Fund, has been an Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments with the Department of the Environment and later an academic editor and a regional director for conservation work with English Heritage. **David Neal** is a specialist on Roman villas and mosaics, currently working on a publication on Roman mosaics in Britain.

Herbert Masterson was formerly a regional chief officer of the Central Electricity Generating Board. He contributed to this journal in 1999.

Jonathan Oates is an archivist with the London Borough of Ealing. He obtained a Ph.D. from Reading University last year on north-eastern responses to the Jacobite rebellions.

R. S. Richardson (who is a Head of Year at Priesthorpe School, Leeds), **J. A. Richardson** and **J. A. Thorp** have been enthusiastic collectors of lithic artefacts in the Craven area for many years. The Richardsons, in collaboration with David J. Williams, were joint authors of a paper on Mesolithic sites at Malham Tarn published in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* in 1987.

Margaret Snape is Keeper of Field Archaeology at Segedunum Roman Fort, Baths and Museum, **Paul Bidwell** Senior Curator and Head of Archaeology for Tyne and Wear Museums and **Alexandra Croom** Senior Keeper of Archaeology and Curator of Arbeia Roman Fort Museum.

The Society wishes it to be understood that responsibility for opinions and material contained in articles, notes and reviews is that of the authors, to whom any resulting correspondence should be addressed.

LITHIC ARROWHEADS OF THE CRAVEN AREA

By R. S. Richardson, J. A. Richardson and J. A. Thorp

Over many years surface finds of lithic material have been collected in the Craven area. Amongst these finds are various types of arrowheads. The purpose of this article is to attempt to bring together information on arrowheads found in the Craven area in recent years, which have not previously been studied or recorded in any publication. A number of active collectors of lithic material in the Craven area have been contacted, and details of classifiable arrowhead types have been recorded and mapped. The classification developed by H. Stephen Green in his book *The Flint Arrowheads of the British Isles* (1980) has been used in this study.

THE STUDY AREA: CRAVEN

The authors and the collectors contributing to this study have collected arrowheads from an area of Yorkshire stretching from the gritstone of Rombalds Moor in the south-east, to the Great Scar and Yoredale limestones of the Three Peaks area in the north-western Dales (Figs 1 and 2). This coincides with the area known historically as Craven (Fig. 2). The study area is within the geographical region given the regional name of the 'Southern Pennines' by Green in his study of arrowheads. The Craven Museum, Skipton, has been the study base and a majority of the arrowheads recorded in this study (228 specimens in the Richardson Collection) are deposited here. The other arrowheads are in private collections (135 in the Hardisty Collection, eighty-eight in the Thorp Collection, thirty-six in the Mellor Collection, seventeen in the Waterhouse Collection, ten in the Lord Collection, three in the Metcalfe Collection and three in the White Collection). All the collections are available for viewing and research by arrangement with the Craven Museum.

The whole of the study area was divided up into 5-km grid squares, based upon the Ordnance Survey National Grid. The Eastings of this grid were given the numbers 1 to 10, and the Northings were given letters A to H (Fig. 3). Grid squares where collectors have found arrowheads are shown on this map. The individual arrowhead find was then located into the correct grid square. Figure 3 also shows the distribution of the total number of all types of arrowhead found in each grid square.

THE ARROWHEAD SAMPLE

The authors have been collecting lithic artefacts for many years and have a collection of arrowheads, each with the individual find location and the Ordnance Survey six-figure grid reference. It was also known that other collectors had similar collections from the Craven area, with exact find locations. These collectors were approached and they readily made their collections available for study.

Arrowhead Types

A number of Green's categories have been found in the collections studied: Petit Tranchet, Leaf-shaped, Chisel, British Oblique, Ripple Flaked Oblique and Barbed and Tanged. Most of these categories are subdivided into different types, generally on the basis of size

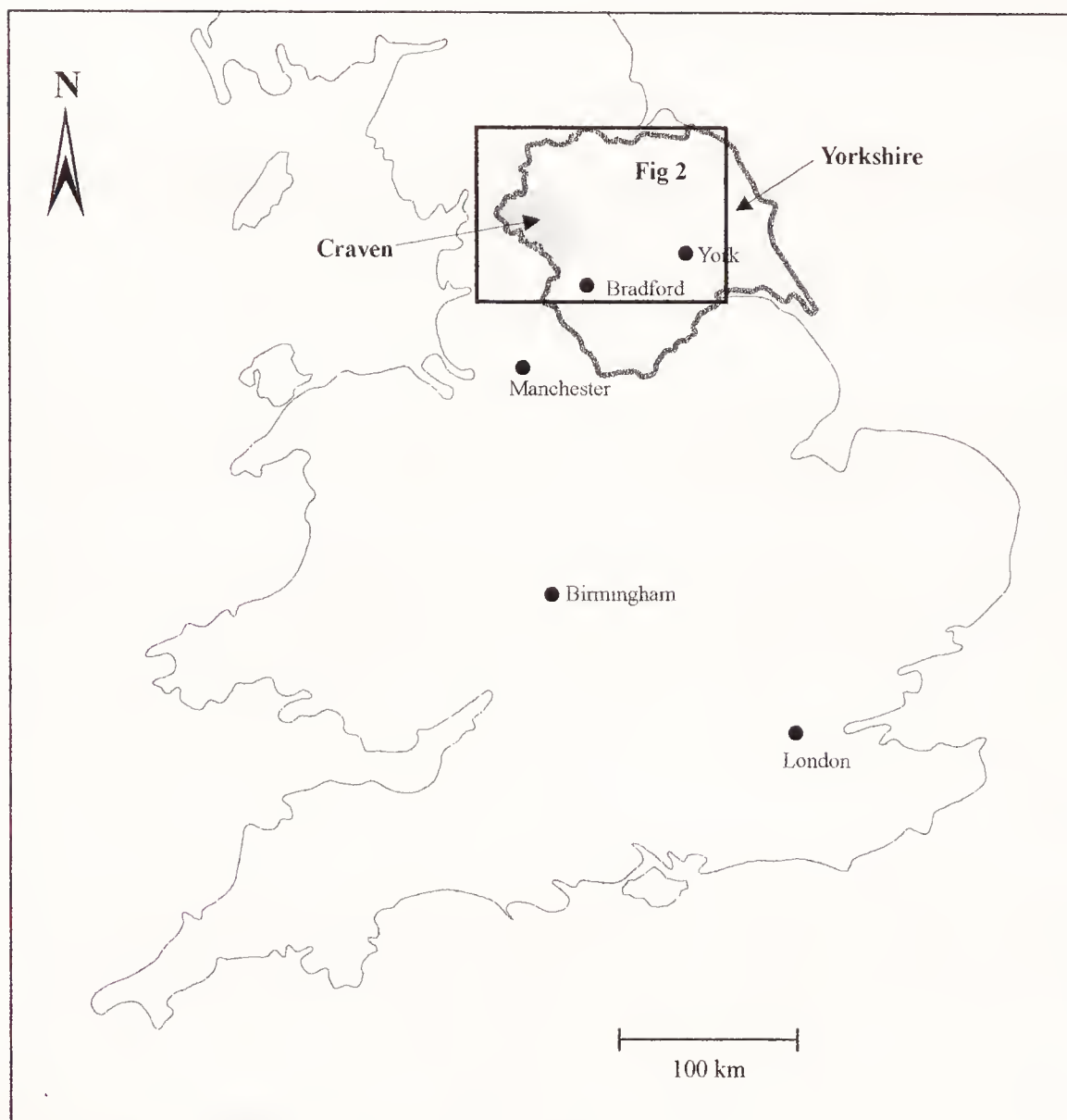


Fig. 1. Location of the Study Area in England.

and shape. Leaf-shaped arrowhead size is designated by a number: 1 being the largest and 4 the smallest. The letter a, b or c reflects the shape. The Barbed and Tanged arrowheads are divided into the 'Fancy' types, of which Conygar Hill and Green Low are represented, and the more common Sutton types. Sutton A have vestigial barbs and tangs; Sutton C have pointed barbs; and Sutton B form the remainder (Green 1980). There are no specimens in this study that exhibit areas of ground or polished surfaces.

Only specimens that are complete or only slightly damaged are shown in Figure 3 and used in the tables and calculations. A total sample of 520 arrowheads is used. There are many damaged arrowheads (fifty-seven in the Richardson Collection, and fifteen in the Thorp Collection) that could not be given a definite type and consequently are unclassifiable. These arrowheads would have been broken whilst in use and been unsuitable for reuse or reworking; or they would have been lost during use after fragmentation on impact.

Dating the arrowheads by their type may be aided by referring to East Yorkshire where arrowheads have been found with ceramic associations:

Leaf-shaped — associated with the Grimston, Towthorpe and Peterborough styles of the early to late Neolithic dating between 4000–3000 BC.

Ogival forms — have associations with the middle Neolithic Towthorpe-style pottery with a date-range from the mid-fourth to the late fourth millennium.

Chisel — Peterborough style, from the late fourth millennium to the opening of the third millennium, 3200–2500 BC.

Petit Tranchet — Woodlands style Grooved Ware, from the late fourth to the early third millennium.

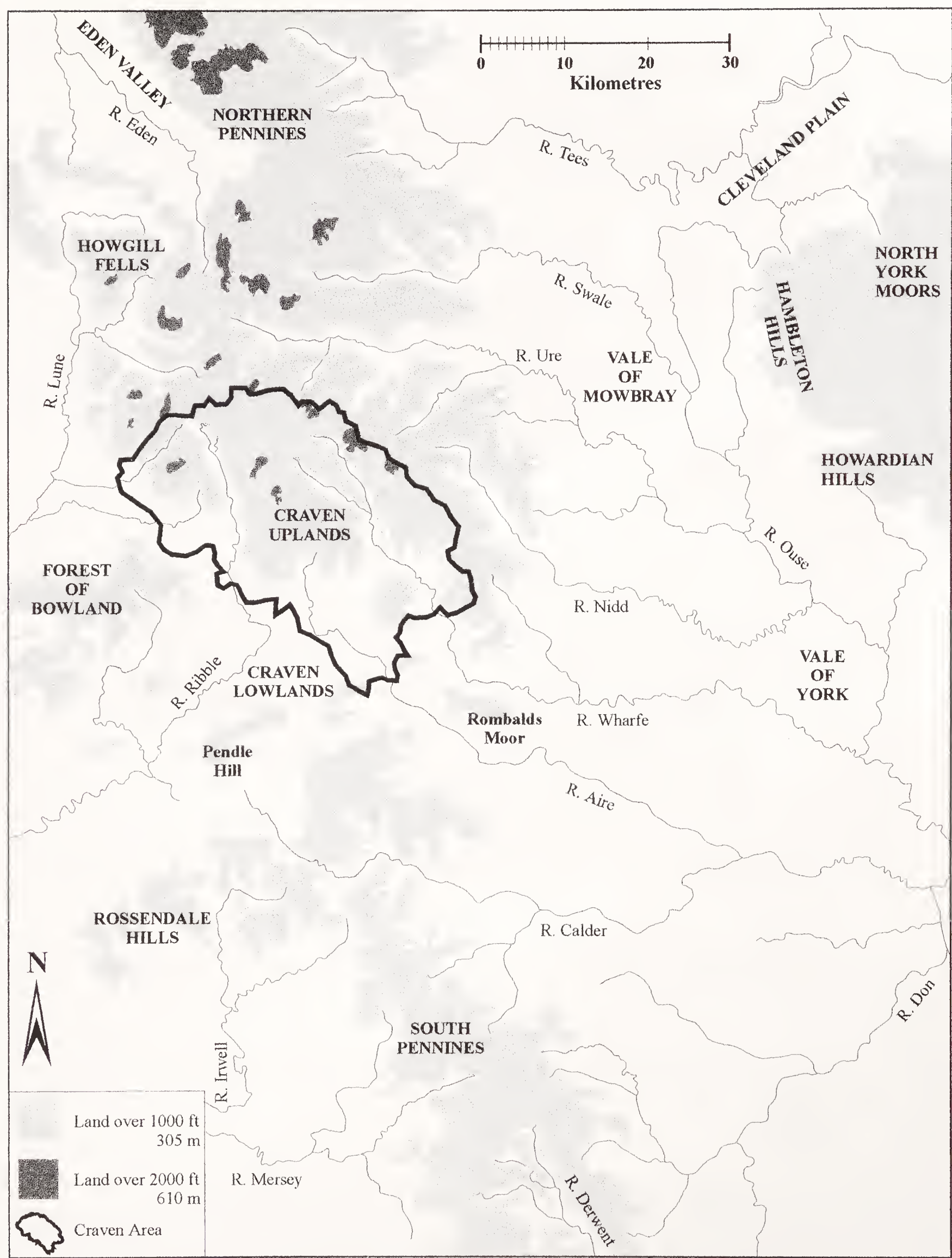


Fig. 2. Location of the Study Area within the Yorkshire Pennines.

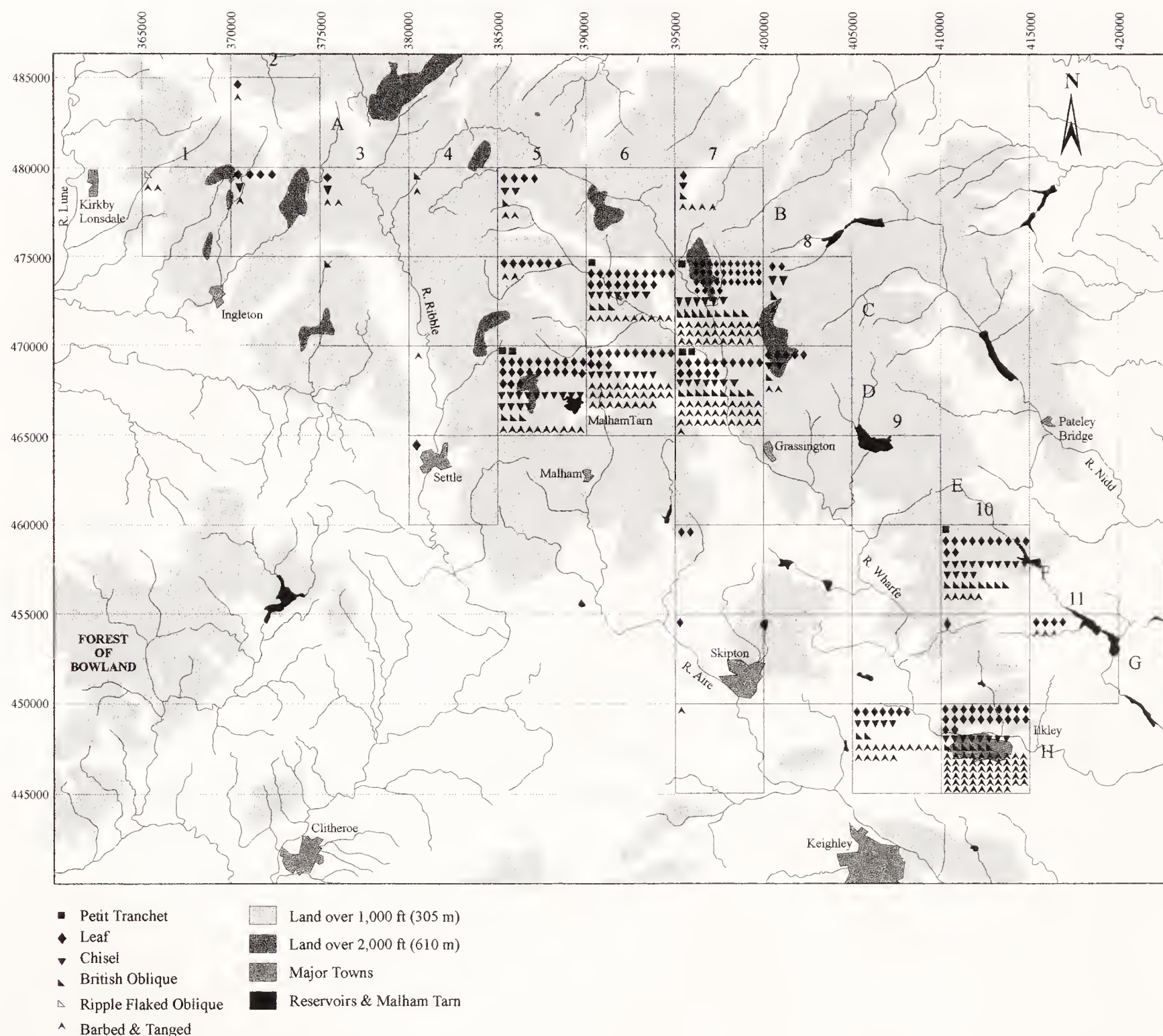


Fig. 3. The Study Area 5 km Grid Squares: Distribution of the Total Arrowhead Sample.

Barbed and Tanged — Beaker Period to the end of the early Bronze Age, 2500–1500 BC.

Lithic Typology

The raw material used in the manufacture of arrowheads can be described in the following ways.

Flint

This does not occur locally, and so it must have been imported into the area. The majority of the sample exhibit patination, whilst others are coloured and translucent. Only ten of the arrowheads have been subjected to burning and this may represent the result either of prehistoric, or of more recent burning. There are a number of possible sources from which the flint may have been obtained:

- (i) The glacial erratics of the Cumbrian coast (Barnes & Hobbs, 1951; Fell, 1940);
- (ii) The chalk outcrop of the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire Wolds;

CORRECTION

YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL JOURNAL, VOLUME 74 FOR 2002

LITHIC ARROWHEADS OF THE CRAVEN AREA

By R. S. Richardson, J. A. Richardson *and* J. A. Thorp

Figure 3 on page 4 of this article, a map showing the distribution of the arrowhead sample, was found after publication to be defective. The shaded areas depicting high ground were not correctly placed. Thanks to the assistance of Mr Trevor Croucher, we are able to provide an accurate replacement for this map. Subscribers are requested to insert the corrected figure at page 4 of volume 74.

YAJ Editors, April 2003

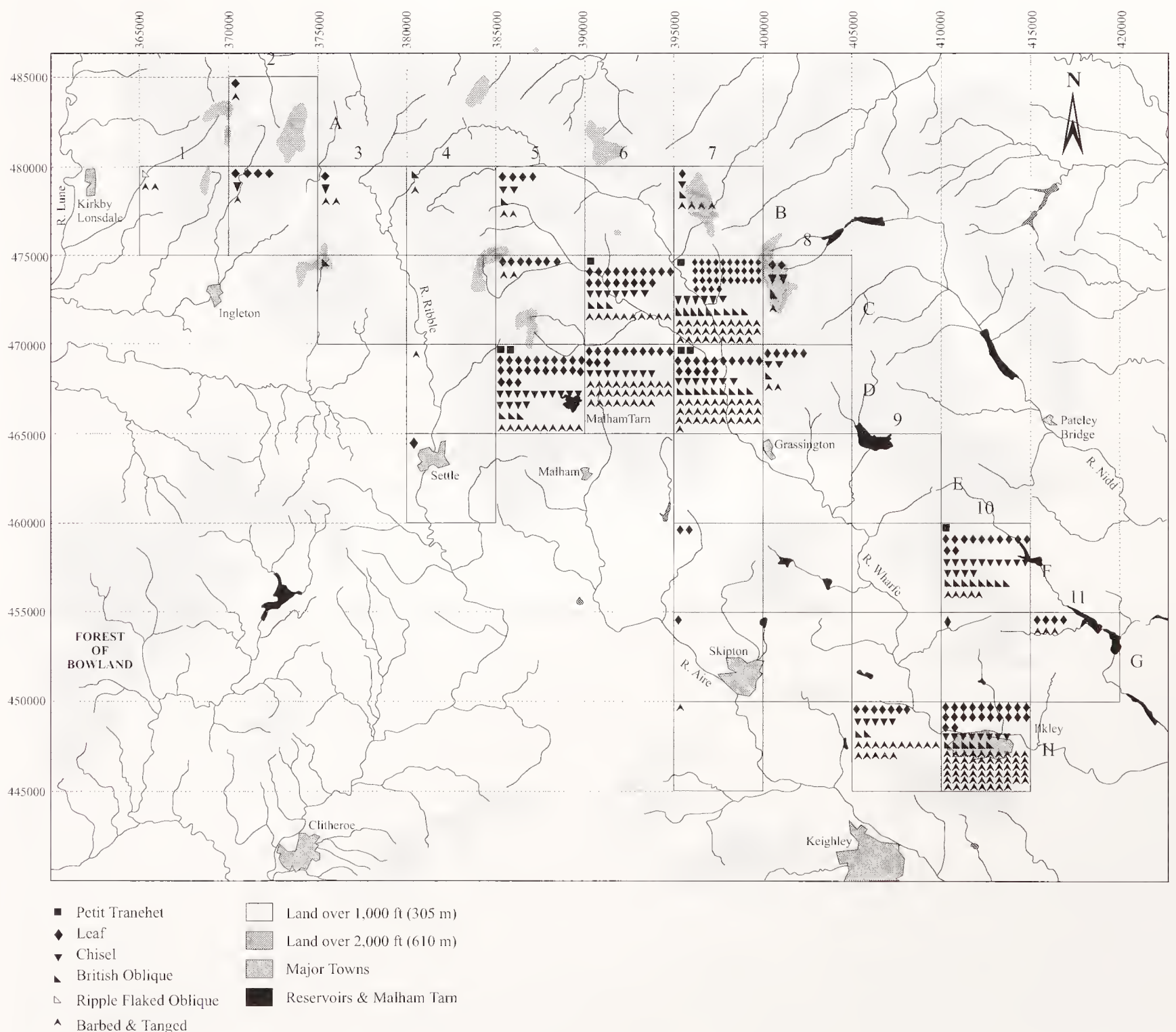


Fig. 3. The Study Area 5-km Grid Squares: Distribution of the Total Arrowhead Sample.

- (iii) The Glacial Tills of East Yorkshire and Lincolnshire;
- (iv) Mined flint (Barber *et al* 1999).

Chert

Chert does occur locally in the Craven Pennines. There are two major local sources, both of Carboniferous age. One source is in the Great Scar Limestone, the other is found in the Yoredale Series of rocks (O'Connor 1964).

PRESENTATION & ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

All the arrowhead finds are recorded in Table 1 and Figures 3–4. Table 2 and Figure 6 record the distribution and the percentages of chert arrowheads. Figure 5 shows the total number of arrowhead types. Table 3 and Figures 7 and 8 show the comparison of the present data with Green's data.

Examples of a number of the arrowheads studied are illustrated (Figs 9–18) and the illustrations are accompanied by a key (Table 4) showing the type, the grid square where found, the material, the underlying geology, the height above sea level in metres and the collector.

DISCUSSION OF DATA

The Arrowhead Sample

All the arrowheads are best described as 'stray finds', since all have been found on surfaces that have been eroded or disturbed (in molehills and rabbit scrapes, for example). It must be noted that the collectors have field-walked many areas which have not revealed any arrowheads, despite the surface being eroded and disturbed, so some patterns may therefore be recognised.

Collectors have been operating in this area for many years and they must have removed an unknown number of arrowheads, perhaps removing a particular type from the sample. This factor of a depleted sample must be taken into account when considering these results. The authors consider that the results in this study will not be adversely affected by this factor since the disturbed areas searched are not permanent features, but can change from year to year. Had the areas been constantly under the plough, for example, then the sample might have been adversely affected, due to 'sampling without replacement' (Green 1980).

Height above Sea Level

The highest find is 690 metres and the lowest is 90 metres. The greater part of the sample was found between 270 and 450 metres. These altitudes in the study area are, at the present time, under pastureland or moorland and are therefore areas that provide ideal search conditions: molehills, rabbit scrapes and eroded peat patches. The soil is rarely deep and three main types predominate in the search areas: peat (associated with the gritstone and moorland vegetation), brown calcareous and rendzinas (associated with the limestone areas). These soils may well have been lightly wooded or open pasture in prehistoric times and therefore ideal for hunting with bows and arrows. It should be noted that although areas above 450 metres had often been thoroughly searched, only two arrowheads were found. This number may reflect poor hunting grounds during the prehistoric period. Similarly only two were found below 270 metres, but at these levels the soil is usually much thicker and the land has often been subjected to deep ploughing. These factors hinder the search for surface finds.

TABLE 1: Distribution of Arrowhead Types

	Petit Tranchet	Leaf 1A	Leaf 2A	Leaf 2B	Leaf 2C	Leaf 3A	Leaf 3B	Leaf 3C	Leaf 4A	Leaf 4B	Leaf 4C	Chisel	British Oblique	Ripple Fl/Obl	Sutton A	Sutton B	Sutton C	Conygar Hill	Green Low	Totals
1B													1	1				1	1	4
2A				1													1			2
2B							2		1	1		1					1			6
3B										1					1					4
3C													1							1
4B													1							2
4D													1							1
4E																				1
5B																				1
5C						2			1	1		2	1			2				9
5D	2					1	2		2	2			3		2	5	1	1		9
6C	1		1			5	6	1	4	1		14	3		3	5	1	1		52
6D						5		5			2	8	3		3	17	3	5		39
7B							1					1	1			4				49
7C	1		1			8	6	2	12	4	1	6	9			23	2	4		7
7D	2		1			4	2		4	2	2	7	9		5	21	3	1		79
7F						1	1													64
7G									1											2
7H																1				1
8C			1									2	1			1				1
8D						1						2	1			1				6
9H						2	1			3		2	2		2	10				10
10F	1					3	1	1	4	2	1	14	8			4	1	3		29
10G									1											40
10H						1	5		8	7	1	8	6		9	35	3	8	3	1
11G						2	1		1						2	1				94
	7	1	4	2	1	37	33	10	52	27	11	78	47	1	27	134	18	25	5	520

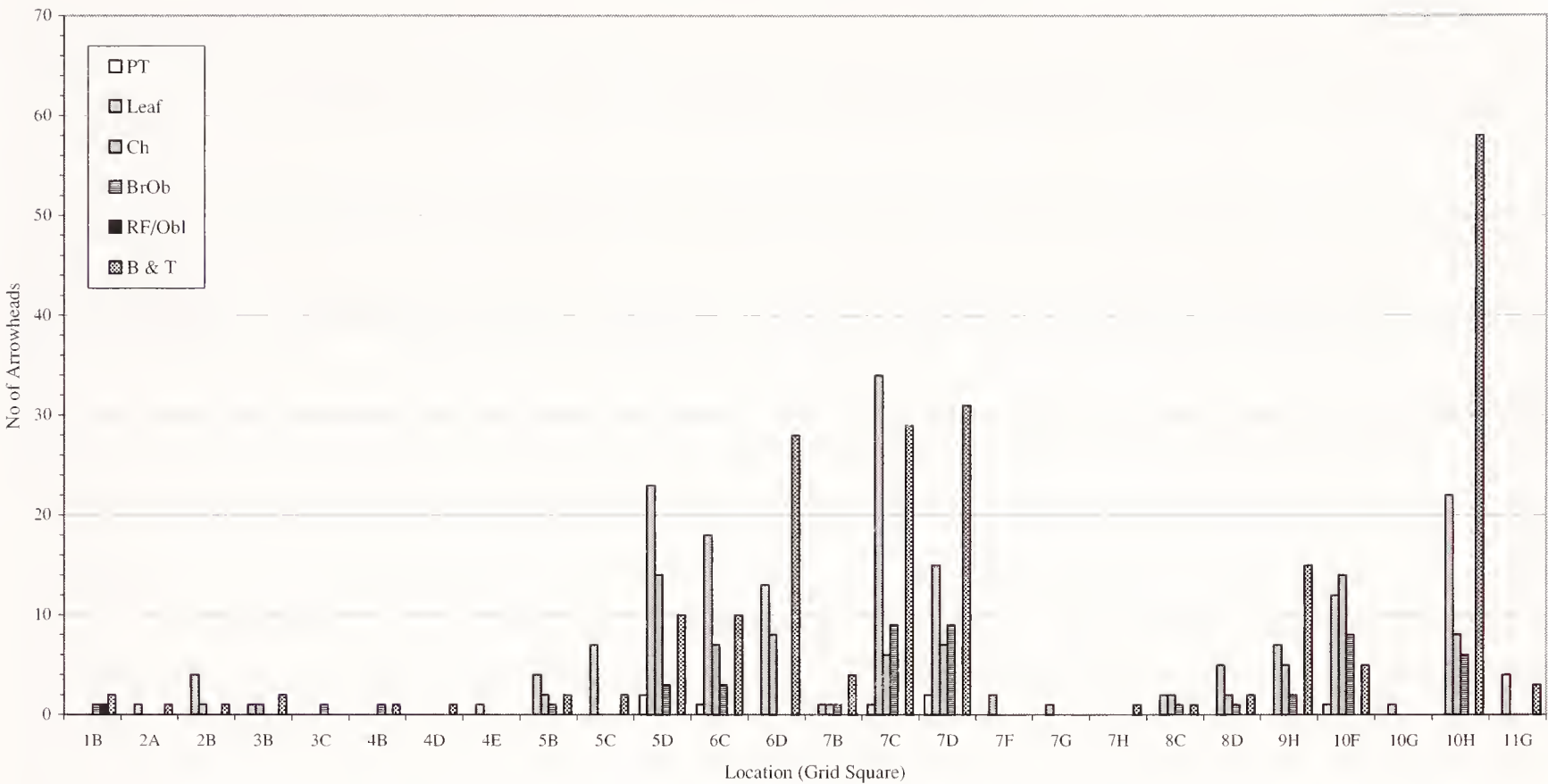


Fig. 4. Distribution of Arrowhead Types: Summarised.

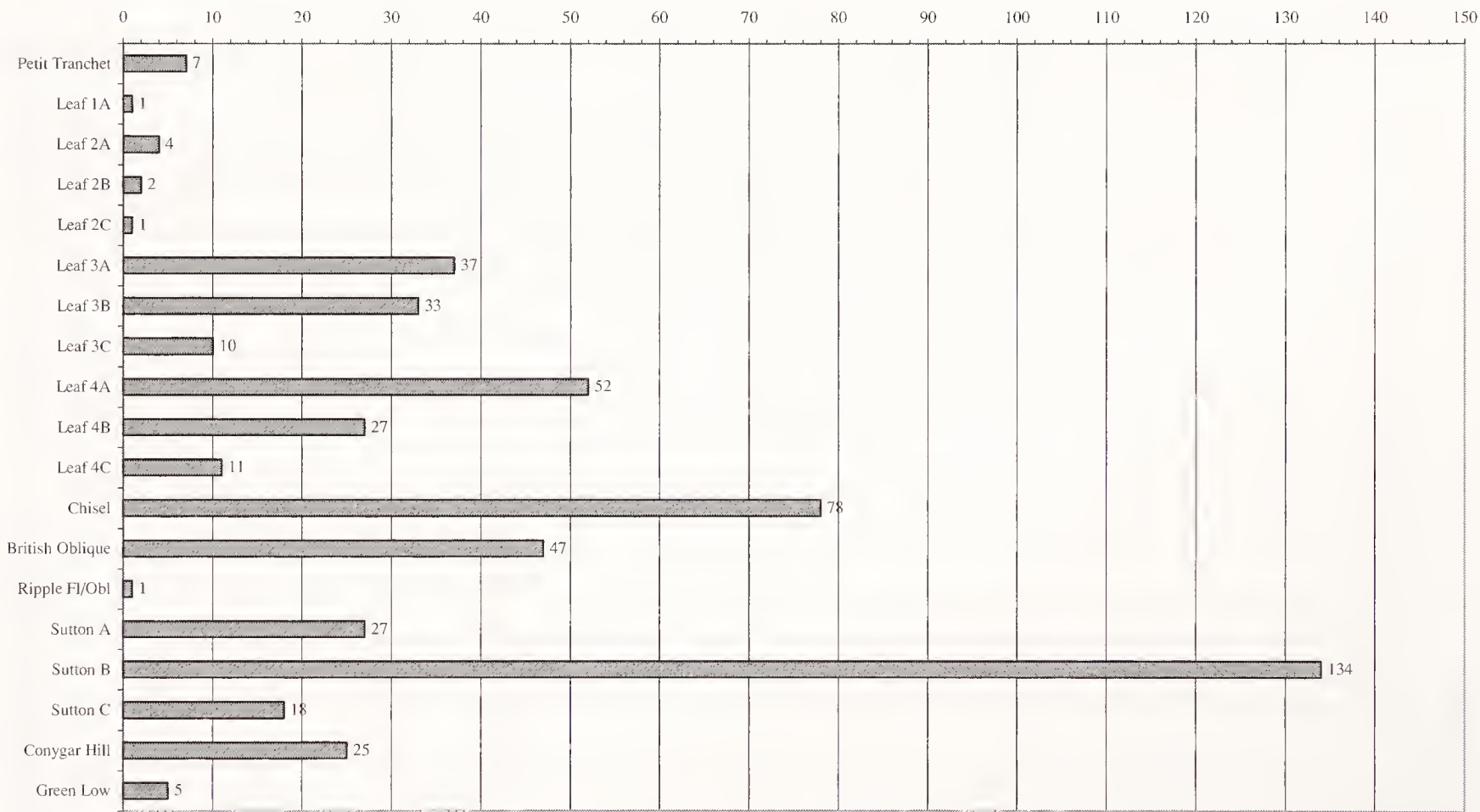


Fig. 5. Total Numbers of Arrowhead Types.

The Raw Material

The majority of flint arrowheads found on the limestone areas of rendzina and brown calcareous soils are patinated. Those found on eroded peat-covered areas usually have no patination. Ten of the sample were flint showing signs of being burnt.

Since chert is a locally available material, it may be assumed that the arrowheads manufactured from chert are made in the study area. Eight types of arrowhead contained examples made of chert: Leaf types 2B, 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B, 4C and Barbed and Tanged

types Sutton A and Sutton B. Of the two Leaf Type 2B that were found, one was of chert. The significant percentages were in type 3A, where 29.7 per cent were made of chert, 4B with 18.5 per cent, and Sutton B with 20.1 per cent (Table 2).

TABLE 2: Distribution and Percentages of Chert Arrowheads

	Leaf 2B	Leaf 3A	Leaf 3B	Leaf 3C	Leaf 4A	Leaf 4B	Leaf 4C	Sutton A	Sutton B
2A	1								
3B								1	
5B		1							
5C						1			
5D		1					1		1
6C		3	3	1	1			1	2
6D					1				3
7C					1	2			7
7D		4			1	2			6
8C		2							1
9H									1
10H									6
TOTALS	1	11	3	1	4	5	1	2	27
% of Chert	50	29.7	9.1	20	7.7	18.5	9.1	7.4	20.1

Neither of the ‘Fancy’ Barbed and Tanged types (Conygar Hill and Green Low) and none of the Chisel, British Oblique, or Ripple Flaked Oblique sample were made of chert. This may indicate that these types were brought into the study area as ready-made arrowheads, manufactured elsewhere and used as trade goods.

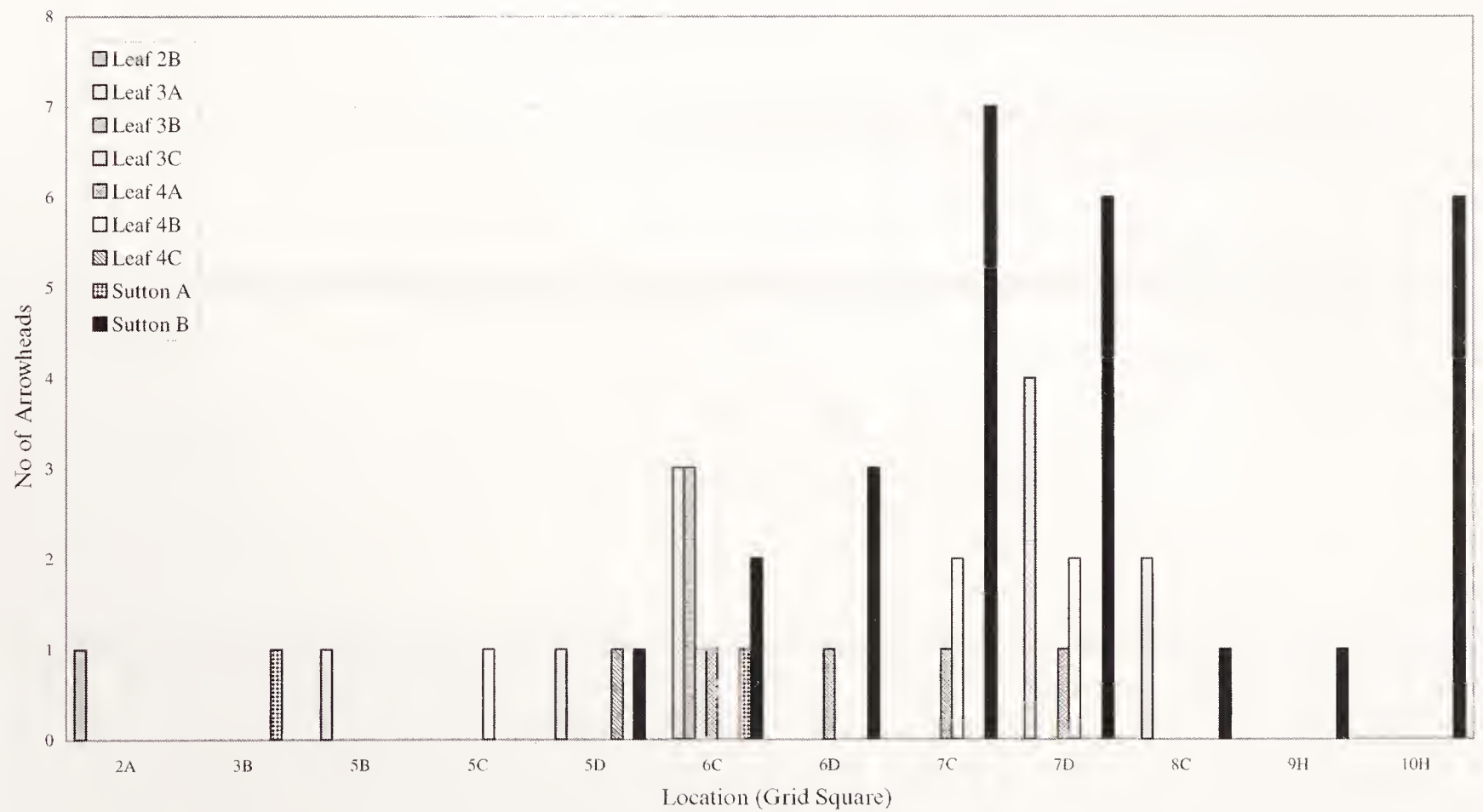


Fig. 6. Distribution of Chert Arrowheads.

Association with other lithic material and possible contextual evidence

Many of the arrowheads were found in close proximity to other lithic material. Some were found with sherds of pottery nearby. There is much evidence of continuity of prehistoric human presence in the Craven area, from the Mesolithic through to Bronze Age. Consequently, this means that the surface finds of lithic material collected in a particular location cannot all be assumed to be from the same archaeological context. An illustration of this can be seen on the Mesolithic sites around Malham Tarn, where arrowheads from both the Neolithic and Bronze Age have been found alongside microliths and other Mesolithic material (Williams *et al* 1987).

One Barbed and Tanged arrowhead (Richardson Collection, Illustration R436) was found within the remains of a circular house. This was the only specimen that could possibly be associated with an archaeological feature.

Comparison with Green’s findings

Green presents totals for the various regions of Britain. The study area of Craven is a small part of the area that Green names the ‘Southern Pennines’. Green’s findings can be compared with the findings of this study. In Table 3 and Figures 7–8 the totals and percentages for the various types of arrowhead are listed for Craven and for the ‘Southern Pennines’.

TABLE 3: Comparison with Green’s Data

CRAVEN			SOUTHERN PENNINES		
TYPE	NUMBER	% AGE	TYPE	NUMBER	% AGE
Petit Tranchet	7	1.3	Petit Tranchet	4	1
Leaf	178	34.3	Leaf	131	34
Chisel	78	15.1	Chisel	19	4.9
British Oblique	47	9.1	British Oblique	24	6.2
Ripple Flaked Oblique	1	0.19	Ripple Flaked Oblique	4	1
Barbed & Tanged	209	40.2	Barbed & Tanged	196	50.9
Hollow Base	0	0	Hollow Base	4	1
Triangular	0	0	Triangular	2	0.5
Transverse Fragments	Not counted		Transverse Fragments	1	0.3
Total	520	100	Total	385	100

The table shows that in the Craven area, the arrowhead sample number exceeds the sample number used by Green for the whole of the ‘Southern Pennines’ region. The percentages shown are similar: the Barbed and Tanged forming the largest group, followed by the Leaf. Green’s results show fewer Chisel arrowheads. The authors believe that this may be due to the non-recognition of this type in some lithic collections. This view followed the study of material loaned by collectors for this study: often the Chisel type had not been recognised and was not therefore listed in the arrowhead sections.

Green also records that only two Ogival Leaf stray find arrowheads have been found in his ‘North of England’ and ‘Southern Pennines’ study regions. Eight can now be added from the Craven area. With regard to Kite-shaped examples, three from Craven can be added to the three recorded by Green.

The results from this study seem to give clear confirmation of the reliability of Green’s findings for the ‘Southern Pennines’ area.

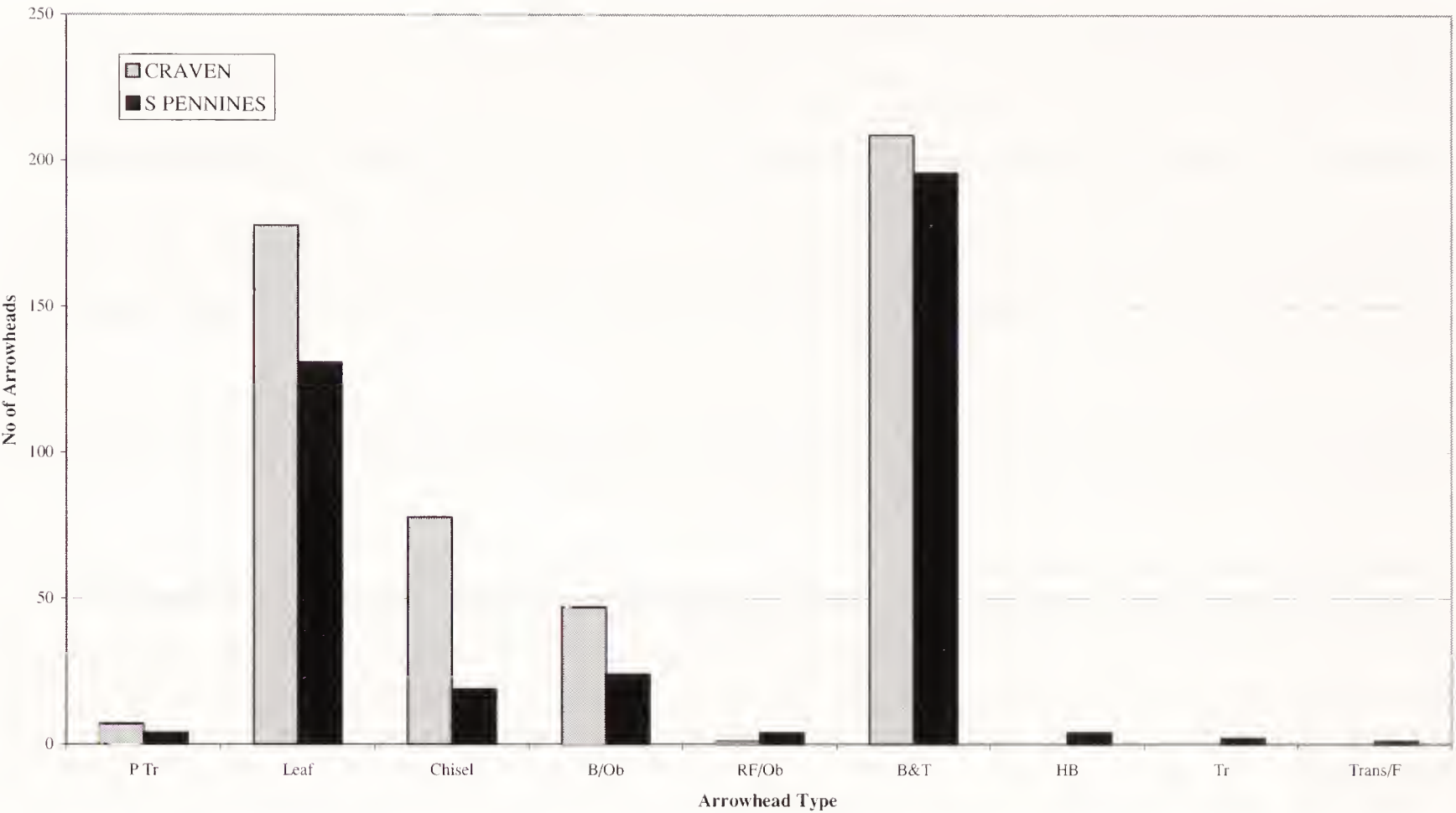


Fig. 7. Comparison with Green’s Data: Numbers.

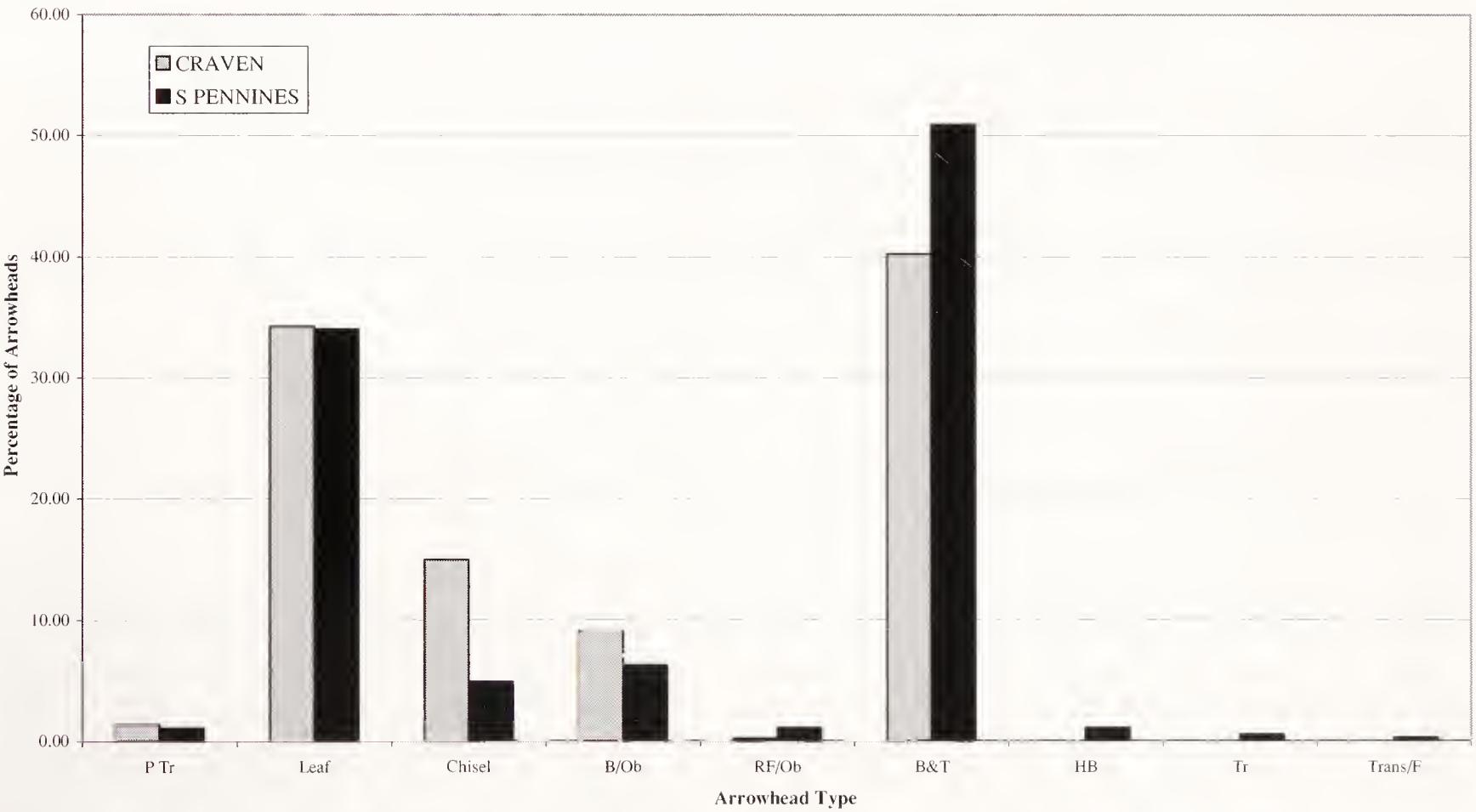


Fig. 8. Comparison with Green’s Data: Percentages.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Almost all the arrowheads in Craven (99.6 per cent) were found between 270 and 450 metres above sea level. Within this altitude range there does not appear to be any indication of a pattern of occurrence of particular arrowhead types apart from the ‘Fancy’, which tend to be found towards the top of the altitude range, i.e. between 310 and 450 metres.

It can be construed that these altitudes represent the lower and upper limits of the optimum hunting areas in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, where the more open, scrubby vegetation would make hunting with bows and arrows more effective. Pollen analysis has been carried out at sites around Malham Tarn (square 5D) where there is a high concentration of arrowhead finds. Transects taken across Tarn Moss by Pigott and Pigott (1959) revealed the occurrence of charcoal, indicating that burning by man was pushing the forest edge back. Other researchers have noted the widespread occurrence of charcoal and smaller soot-like deposits of carbon in almost all peat and mineral soil profiles in the Southern Pennines at altitudes above 400 metres during Zones VI and VIIa (Jacobi *et al.* 1976, 315). Pollen analysis from the Craven area seems to indicate that major forest clearance had taken place by the early Bronze Age (Walker 1956, 22–26; Simmons 1975, 60; Davies 1963, 63; King 1978, 30).

The upland areas of Craven had been subjected to clearance by burning since Mesolithic times, whereas the Craven lowland areas did not experience this. The fertile limestone soils of the Craven lowlands were attractive to Neolithic and Bronze Age farmers (Bartley *et al.* 1990, 627–31) and the inference may be made that the upland areas of Craven were less intensively farmed and therefore more suited for hunting.

It should be noted that many fragments of volcanic tuff axes of probable Lake District origin have been found at the same altitudes as arrowhead finds on the limestone areas, also indicating continued woodland clearance during the Neolithic period (Craven Museum, Richardson Collection).

2. It can be said with certainty that particular types of arrowhead were manufactured locally, since they were made of chert. These are: the Leaf types 2B, 3A, 3B, 4A, 4B and 4C, and Barbed and Tanged types Sutton A and Sutton B (see Table 2). These types, with the exception of Leaf 2A, are the most common arrowhead type in the study area (see section 3 below) and this points to ease of manufacture by the local population. The design pattern of flint arrowheads could therefore be used as a template for locally manufactured chert arrowheads. It is also of note that there are significantly more chert arrowheads (forty-eight) found in the northern concentration areas than in the southern area (eight). This reflects the fact that, apart from its occurrence as glacial erratics in the gritstone areas, chert is only found in the limestone dales.

3. Barbed and Tanged arrowheads are the most numerous (209). The second most numerous group is the Leaf type (178), the third is the Chisel type (seventy-eight), and the fourth group is the British Oblique (forty-seven). Least common is the Petit Tranchet type (seven) followed by the Ripple Flaked Oblique (one). This indicates that the study area was attractive to hunters in both the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods, and that they were using bows and arrows for hunting to supplement their diet.

4. The commonest types of transverse arrowheads (Chisel and British Oblique) form 24.04 per cent of the arrowheads in this study. This percentage perhaps shows Craven to be a high-density focus in Britain for these types.

5. Following discussions with various collectors, it is apparent that the Petit Tranchet and some of the transverse types of arrowhead had not been recognised. Perhaps some collections need to be re-assessed in light of this, and checked to see if these types have been missed. This factor was noted by Evans in his 1897 work *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain*: ‘... they [Chisel arrowheads] have hitherto almost escaped observation, owing to the extreme simplicity of their form’ (Chapter XVI, p. 369).

6. The high quality working of the ‘Fancy Type’ Barbed and Tanged arrowheads is consistently superior to the other Barbed and Tanged arrowheads. All are manufactured from flint, none being chert. This reinforces the hypothesis that they may be trade goods, imported into the study area.

7. A number of arrowhead types in the Green classification are not recorded in this study. The Irish Oblique, Hollow Base and Triangular types are all absent. (Transverse fragments were not counted). From the Barbed and Tanged arrowhead types, the Ballyclare and Kilmarnock types are also absent.

8. The distribution map of the total sample (Fig. 3) shows two areas of arrowhead concentration. The primary concentration area is in Upper Airedale, immediately around Malham Tarn, and stretches east over the watershed into Upper Wharfedale. Here, eight grid squares have yielded 308 specimens, 59 per cent of the total (squares 5C, 5D, 6C, 6D, 7C, 7D, 8C and 8D). Since adjacent grid squares have been subjected to the same search pattern and have yielded fewer arrowheads, then it may be assumed that this area was a favoured hunting ground.

The secondary concentration area is on the moorland around Ilkley. Here 171 specimens obviously represent another well-used hunting ground.

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TABLE 4: Illustration Key

Illustr. No	Type	Grid Sq	Material	Height a.s.l.	Location	Geology	Collection
R_001	Petit Tr.	7D	fl	300	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_100	2a	8C	fl	500	Conistone	Gritstone	Richardson
R_101	2a	5D	fl	380	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_102	2b	5D	ch	430	High Folds	Limestone	Richardson
R_103	2c	5D	fl	310	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_104	3a (Og)	7C	fl	310	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_105	3a	7C	fl	370	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_106	3a	7C	ch	330	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_107	3a	7C	fl	340	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_108	3a	7C	fl	380	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_109	3a	7C	fl	370	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_110	3a	5D	fl	420	High Folds	Limestone	Richardson
R_111	3a	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_112	3a	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_113	3a	8C	fl	440	Mossdale	Limestone	Richardson
R_114	3b	9H	fl	350	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_115	3b	5D	fl	360	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_116	3b	6C	fl	400	Cote Gill	Limestone	Richardson
R_117	3b	7D	fl	290	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_118	3b	5D	fl	450	High Folds	Limestone	Richardson
R_119	3b	7C	fl	360	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_120	3b	7C	fl	390	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_121	3b	7C	fl	370	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_122	3b	6C	fl	330	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_123	3b	7C	fl	400	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_124	3b	7C	fl	330	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_125	3b	7C	fl	400	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_126	3b	7C	fl	320	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_127	3b	7C	fl	310	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_128	3b (Og)	6C	fl	310	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_129	3c	6D	fl	440	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_130	3c	6D	fl	380	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_131	3c (Og)	6D	fl	450	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_132	4a	7C	fl	420	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_133	4a	7C	fl	330	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_134	4a	7C	fl	340	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_135	4a	7D	fl	280	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_136	4a	7C	fl	290	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_137	4a	7C	fl	370	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_138	4a	7D	fl	280	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_139	4a	10G	fl	90	Denton	Alluvium	Richardson
R_140	4a	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_141	4a	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_142	4a	6D	fl	400	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_143	4a	6D	fl	370	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_144	4a	6D	fl	360	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_145	4a	5D	fl	350	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_146	4a	9H	fl	360	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_147	4a	6D	ch	350	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson

TABLE 4: Illustration Key (*continued*)

Illustr. No	Type	Grid Sq	Material	Height a.s.l.	Location	Geology	Collection
R_148	4a	5D	fl	380	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_149	4a	5D	ch	400	High Folds	Limestone	Richardson
R_150	4a	6C	fl	410	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_151	4a (Og)	7D	fl	300	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_152	4a	6C	fl	430	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_153	4a	6C	ch	360	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_154	4b	7C	fl	310	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_155	4b	7C	fl	350	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_156	4b	5C	ch	430	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_157	4b (Kite)	7C	fl	310	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_158	4c	9H	fl	330	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_159	4c	6D	fl	400	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_160	4c (Kite)	6D	fl	400	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_200	Chisel	9H	fl	350	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_201	Chisel	9H	fl	330	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_202	Chisel	9H	fl	350	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_203	Chisel	5D	fl	390	Dean Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_204	Chisel	5D	fl	400	High Folds	Limestone	Richardson
R_205	Chisel	5D	fl	400	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_206	Chisel	6D	fl	350	Malham Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_207	Chisel	5D	fl	400	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_208	Chisel	7C	fl	360	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_209	Chisel	6C	fl	400	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_210	Chisel	6C	fl	320	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_211	Chisel	6C	fl	330	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_212	Chisel	6C	fl	420	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_213	Chisel	7D	fl	280	Sweet Side	Limestone	Richardson
R_214	Chisel	7C	fl	360	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_215	Chisel	7D	fl	290	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_216	Chisel	7D	fl	430	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_217	Chisel	7C	fl	380	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_218	Chisel	5D	fl	440	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_219	Chisel	8D	fl	280	Barras	Limestone	Richardson
R_220	Chisel	9H	fl	350	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_221	Chisel	7C	fl	355	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_222	Chisel	7C	fl	340	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_223	Chisel	8D	fl	280	Barras	Limestone	Richardson
R_224	Chisel	7D	fl	330	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_225	Chisel	7D	fl	290	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_300	Br. Oblique	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_301	Br. Oblique	5D	fl	430	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_302	Br. Oblique	5D	fl	400	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_303	Br. Oblique	4B	fl	690	Penyghent	Gritstone	Richardson
R_304	Br. Oblique	7C	burnt fl	340	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_305	Br. Oblique	7C	fl	410	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_306	Br. Oblique	7C	fl	410	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_307	Br. Oblique	6C	fl	420	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_308	Br. Oblique	7D	fl	300	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_309	Br. Oblique	7D	fl	290	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson

TABLE 4: Illustration Key (*continued*)

Illustr. No	Type	Grid Sq	Material	Height a.s.l.	Location	Geology	Collection
R_310	Br. Oblique	7C	fl	410	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_311	Br. Oblique	7C	fl	380	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_312	Br. Oblique	7D	fl	320	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_313	Br. Oblique	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_314	Br. Oblique	8C	fl	440	Mossdale	Gritstone	Richardson
R_315	Br. Oblique	8D	fl	280	Barras	Limestone	Richardson
R_316	Br. Oblique	7D	fl	290	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_400	Sutton A	5D	fl	440	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_401	Sutton A	9H	fl	370	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_402	Sutton A	7D	burnt fl	280	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_403	Sutton A	5D	fl	390	Waterhouses	Limestone	Richardson
R_404	Sutton A	7D	fl	300	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_405	Sutton B	6D	fl	390	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_406	Sutton B	6C	ch	300	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_407	Sutton B	6D	fl	410	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_408	Sutton B	7C	fl	355	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_409	Sutton B	7C	fl	360	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_410	Sutton B	6C	fl	370	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_411	Sutton B	6D	fl	360	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_412	Sutton B	6D	fl	410	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_413	Sutton B	5D	fl	370	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_414	Sutton B	6D	fl	360	Dean Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_415	Sutton B	6D	ch	360	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_416	Sutton B	6D	ch	320	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_417	Sutton B	9H	fl	360	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_418	Sutton B	6D	fl	410	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_419	Sutton B	5D	ch	450	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_420	Sutton B	6D	fl	350	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_421	Sutton B	7C	ch	330	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_422	Sutton B	7C	fl	380	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_423	Sutton B	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_424	Sutton B	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_425	Sutton B	9H	fl	330	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_426	Sutton B	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_427	Sutton B	9H	ch	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_428	Sutton B	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_429	Sutton B	7D	fl	280	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_430	Sutton B	7C	fl	370	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_431	Sutton B	9H	fl	370	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_432	Sutton B	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_433	Sutton B	5D	fl	400	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_434	Sutton B	7D	fl	280	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_435	Sutton B	7C	fl	410	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_436	Sutton B	7C	fl	360	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_437	Sutton B	9H	fl	360	Rombalds Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_438	Sutton B	8B	fl	320	Yarnbury	Limestone	Richardson
R_439	Sutton B	8G	fl	300	Skipton Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_440	Sutton B	8C	ch	410	Mossdale	Limestone	Richardson
R_441	Sutton B	6D	fl	440	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson

TABLE 4: Illustration Key (*continued*)

Illustr. No	Type	Grid Sq	Material	Height a.s.l.	Location	Geology	Collection
R_442	Sutton B	7D	fl	310	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_443	Sutton B	7D	ch	310	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_444	Sutton B	6D	fl	410	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_445	Sutton B	7C	fl	390	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_446	Sutton B	7C	fl	350	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_447	Sutton B	7C	fl	350	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_448	Sutton B	7D	fl	350	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_449	Sutton B	7D	fl	330	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_450	Sutton B	7D	fl	310	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_451	Sutton B	7D	fl	290	Sweet Side	Limestone	Richardson
R_452	Sutton B	7D	fl	270	Lea Green	Limestone	Richardson
R_453	Sutton B	7D	fl	310	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_454	Sutton B	7C	fl	410	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_455	Sutton B	8D	fl	260	Sweet Side	Limestone	Richardson
R_456	Sutton B	7D	ch	280	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
R_457	Sutton B	7C	ch	340	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_458	Sutton B	7C	fl	330	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_459	Sutton B	7C	fl	350	Kettlewell	Limestone	Richardson
R_460	Sutton C	6D	fl	350	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_461	Sutton C	7C	fl	420	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_462	Sutton C	6C	fl	450	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_463	Sutton C	6D	fl	360	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_464	Sutton C	2A	fl	350	Kingsdale	Limestone	Richardson
R_465	Sutton C	5D	fl	370	Dean Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_466	Sutton C	6D	fl	380	Malham Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_467	Conyg. Hill	9H	fl	340	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_468	Conyg. Hill	5D	fl	410	Chapel Fell	Limestone	Richardson
R_469	Conyg. Hill	6D	fl	450	Kilnsey Moor	Limestone	Richardson
R_470	Conyg. Hill	9H	fl	310	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_471	Conyg. Hill	9H	fl	320	Rombalds Moor	Gritstone	Richardson
R_472	Conyg. Hill	7C	fl	410	Littondale	Limestone	Richardson
R_473	Conyg. Hill	6D	fl	450	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_474	Conyg. Hill	6D	burnt fl	450	Great Close	Limestone	Richardson
R_475	Green Low	7D	fl	310	Conistone	Limestone	Richardson
T_100	3a	5C	fl	400	Flask	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_101	3a	5D	fl	440	High Folds	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_102	3a	8D	ch	370	Lea Green	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_103	3a	6C	ch	440	Dowkabottom	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_104	3b	6C	ch	440	Dowkabottom	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_105	3b	2B	fl	380	East Kingsdale	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_106	3b	5D	fl	390	Prior Rakes	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_107	4a	6D	fl	380	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_108	4a	2B	fl	370	Ullet Gill	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_109	4a	2B	fl	380	Mere Gill	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_110	4a	5D	fl	410	West End	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_111	4a	5C	fl	410	Flask	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_112	4a	8D	fl	340	Lea Green	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_113	4a	6C	fl	320	Old Cote Moor	Limestone	J. Thorp

TABLE 4: Illustration Key (*continued*)

Illustr. No	Type	Grid Sq	Material	Height a.s.l.	Location	Geology	Collection
T_114	4a	4B	fl	370	Mere Gill	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_115	4b	5D	fl	430	Lea Green	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_116	4b	5B	fl	370	Penyghent Gill	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_117	4b	5D	fl	450	High Folds	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_118	4b (Og)	2B	fl	370	Ullet Gill	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_119	4b	5D	fl	390	Prior Rakes	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_200	Chisel	2B	fl	390	Mere Gill	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_201	Chisel	5B	fl	400	Cow Close	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_202	Chisel	7C	ch	415	Kettlewell	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_203	Chisel	5D	fl	425	High Folds	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_204	Chisel	5D	ch	440	High Folds	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_205	Chisel	5B	fl	390	Cow Close	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_206	Chisel	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_207	Chisel	6D	fl	395	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_208	Chisel	5D	fl	385	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_209	Chisel	5D	fl	385	Prior Rakes	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_210	Chisel	6D	fl	400	Malham Lings	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_211	Chisel	5D	fl	385	Prior Rakes	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_300	Br. Oblique	5D	fl	390	Cow Close	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_301	Ripple Fl/Ob	1B	fl	365	Kingsdale	Limsetone	J. Thorp
T_400	Sutton A	6D	fl	380	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_401	Sutton A	5D	fl	385	Prior Rakes	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_402	Sutton A	6D	fl	385	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_403	Sutton B	5D	fl	380	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_404	Sutton B	5D	fl	385	Prior Rakes	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_405	Sutton B	5A	fl	385	Scales Moor	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_406	Sutton B	5B	fl	365	Cow Close	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_407	Sutton B	6C	fl	420	Old Cote Moor	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_408	Sutton B	6D	fl	385	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_409	Sutton B	5B	fl	385	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_410	Sutton B	5B	fl	380	Cow Close	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_411	Conyg.Hill	6D	burnt fl	385	Broad Flats	Limestone	J. Thorp
T_412	Conyg.Hill	7D	fl	390	Heights Laithe	Limestone	J. Thorp
L_100	1a	4E	fl	150	Rathmell	Alluvium	T. Lord
L_101	3a	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_102	4b	5D	fl	380	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_103	4b	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_104	4c	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_105	4c	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_200	Chisel	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_201	Chisel	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_202	Chisel	5D	fl	430	High Folds	Limestone	T. Lord
L_400	Sutton B	4D	fl	400	Attermire	Limestone	T. Lord
W_100	3c	7D	fl	400	Heights Laithe	Limestone	I. White
W_200	Chisel	5D	fl	425	Great Close	Limestone	I. White
W_400	Conyg.Hill	5C	fl	440	High Mark	Limestone	I. White

TABLE 4: Illustration Key (*continued*)

KEY:	R – Richardson Collection	Numbering – Within each collection the following
	T – Thorp Collection	numbering convention is applied:
	L – Lord Collection	001 – 099 Petit Tranchet
	W – White Collection	100 – 199 Leaf
		200 – 299 Chisel
		300 – 399 British Oblique (& Ripple Flaked Oblique)
		400 – 499 Barbed & Tanged

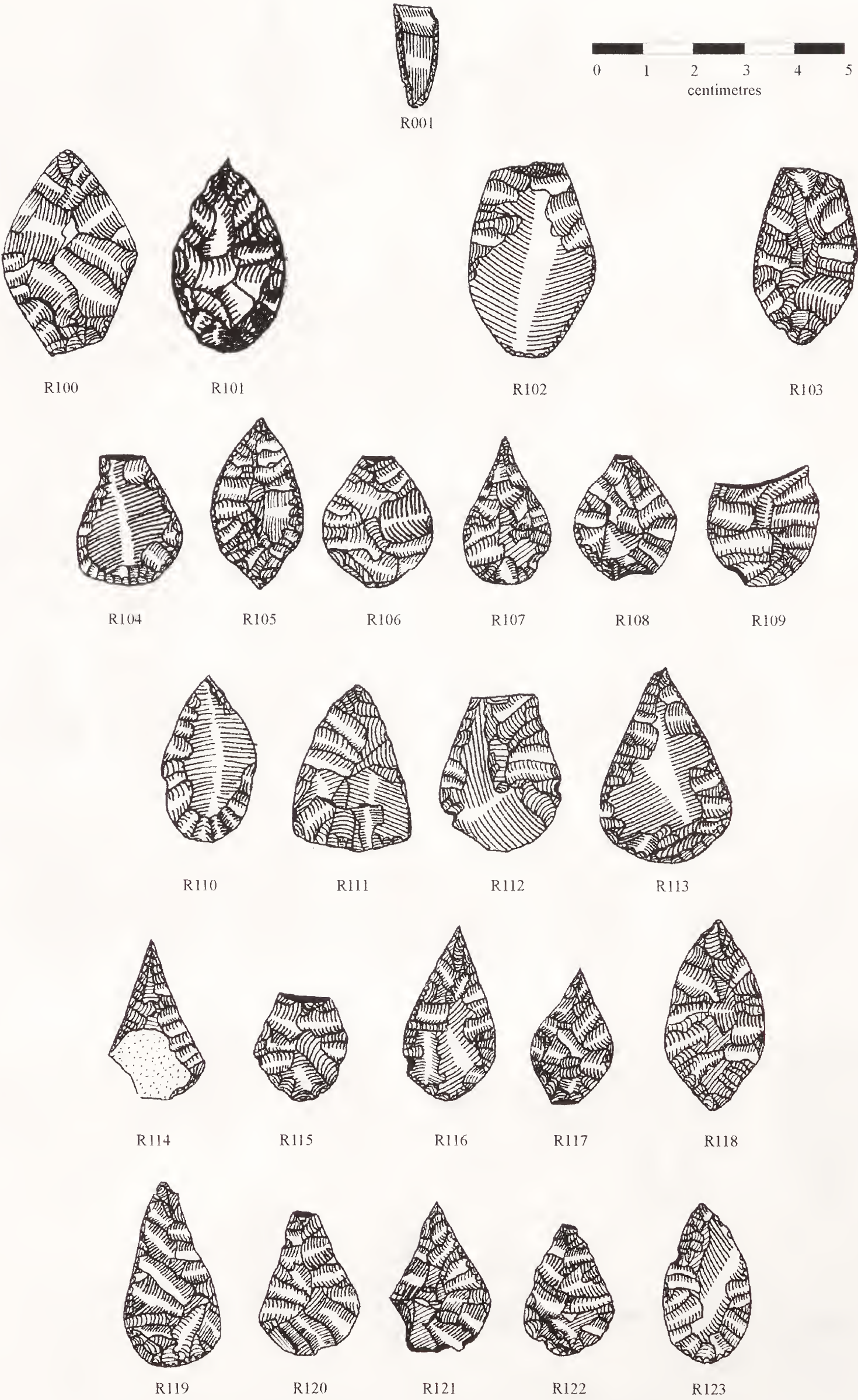


Fig. 9. Richardson Collection: Petit Tranchet and Leaf Types (part 1).

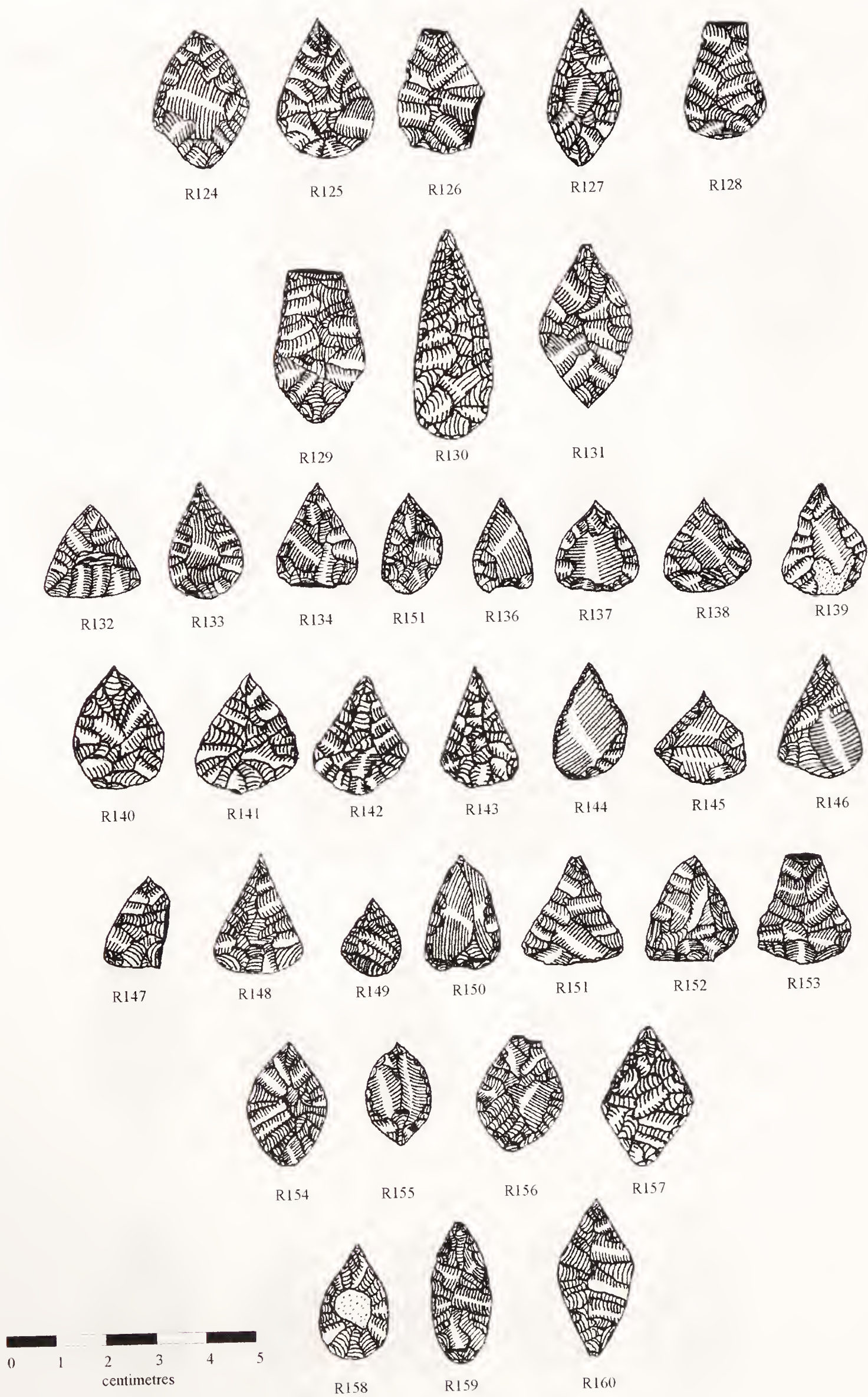


Fig. 10. Richardson Collection: Leaf Types (part 2).

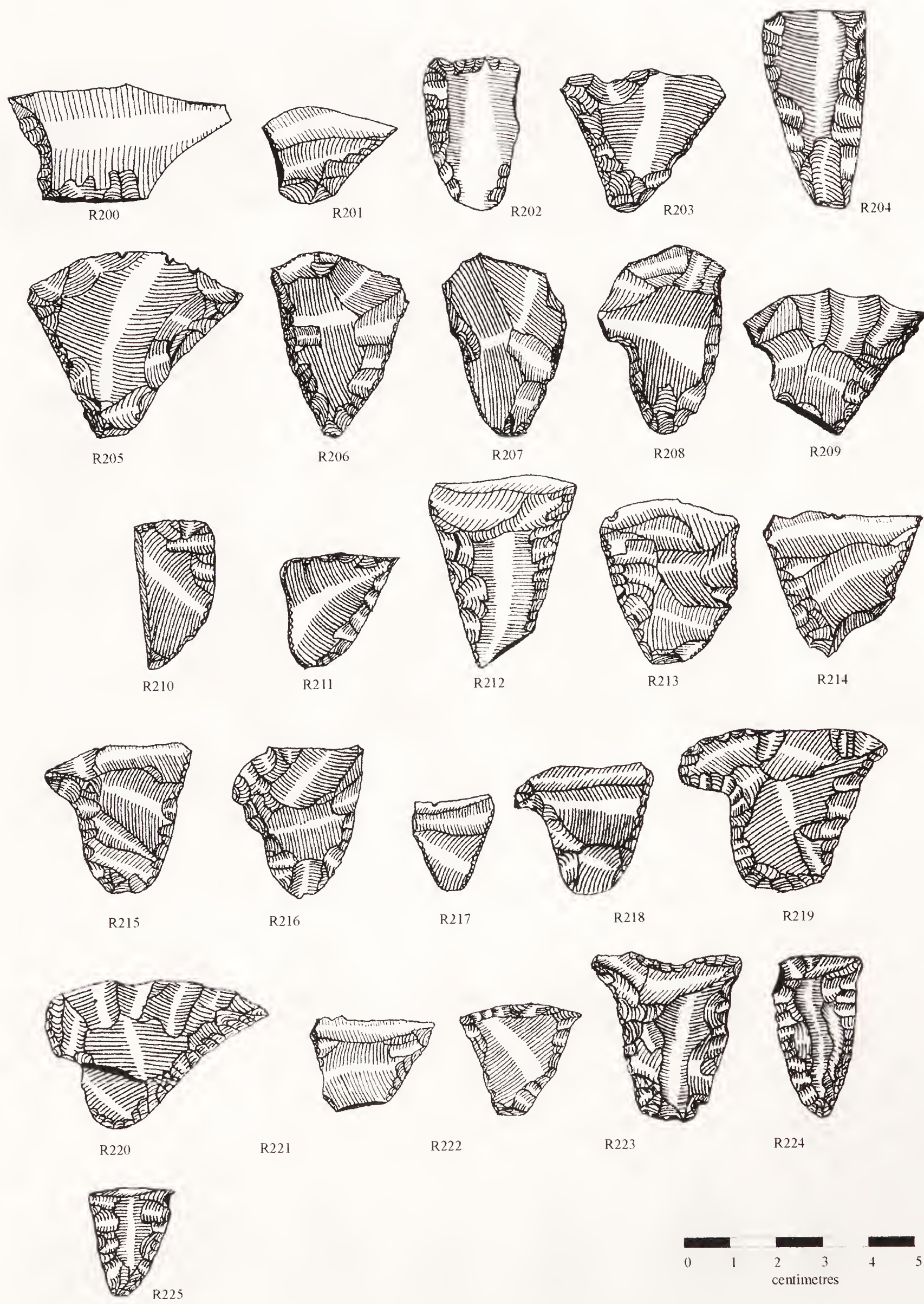


Fig. 11. Richardson Collection: Chisel Type.

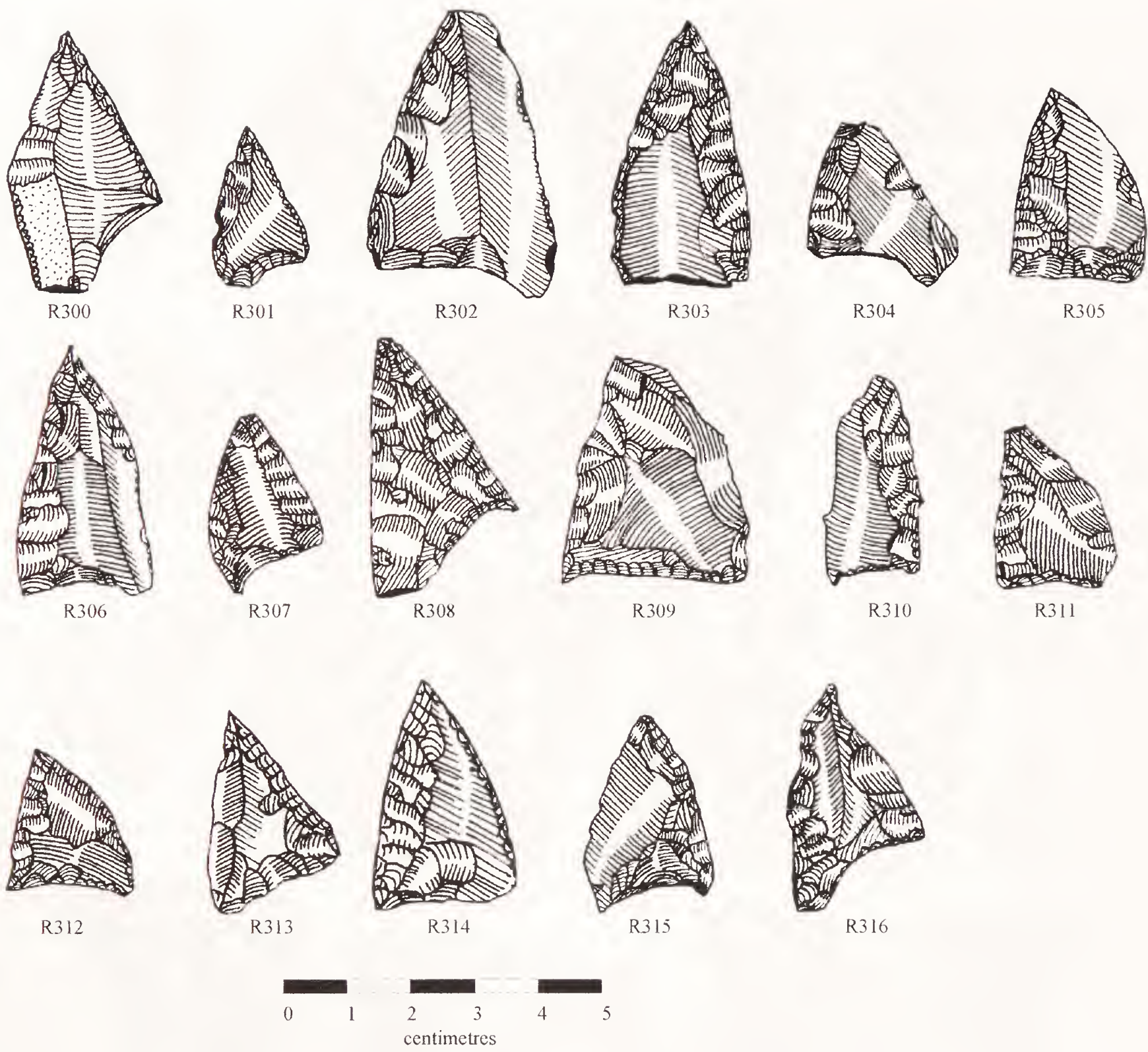


Fig. 12. Richardson Collection: British Oblique Type.

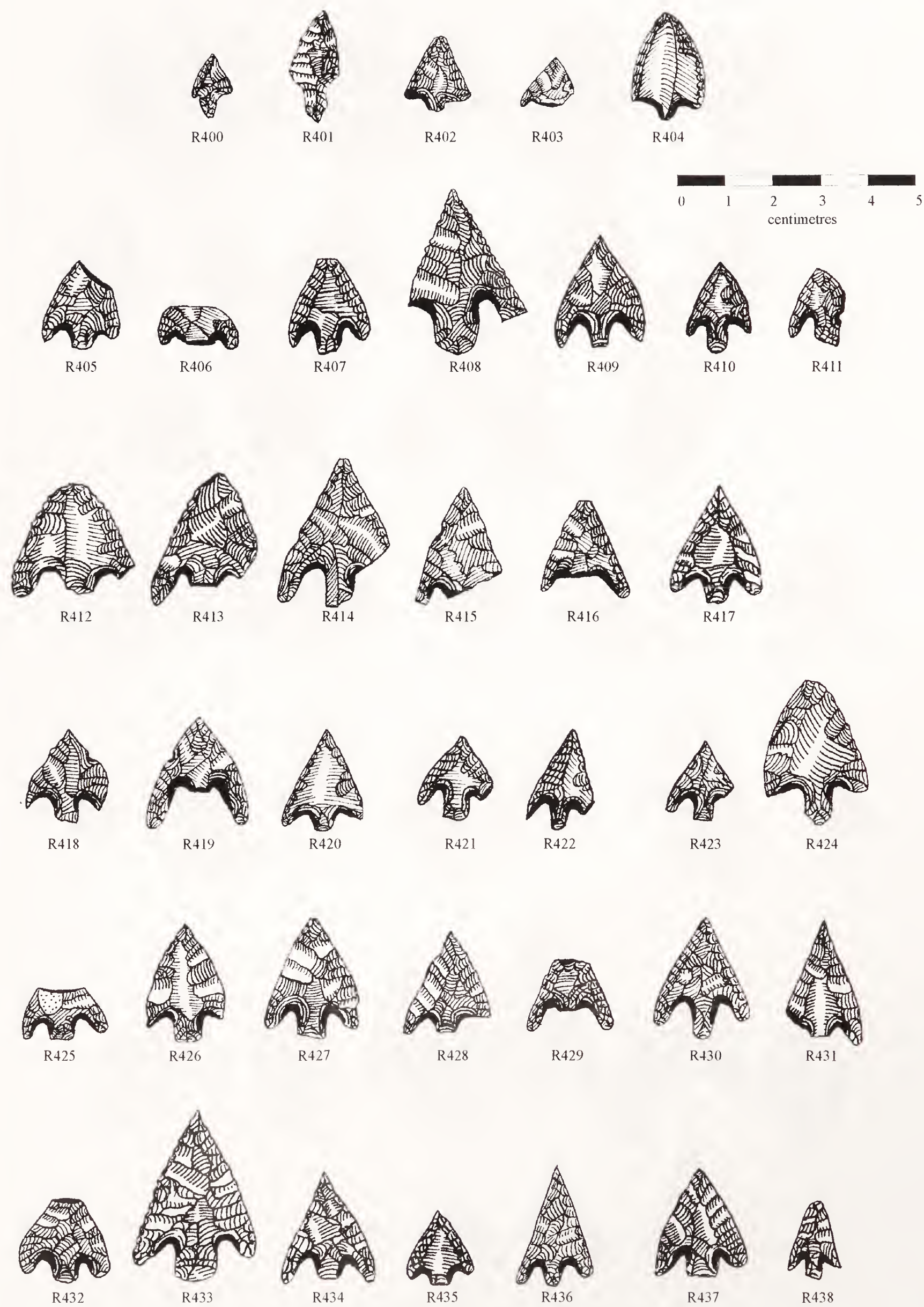


Fig. 13. Richardson Collection: Barbed and Tanged Types (part 1).

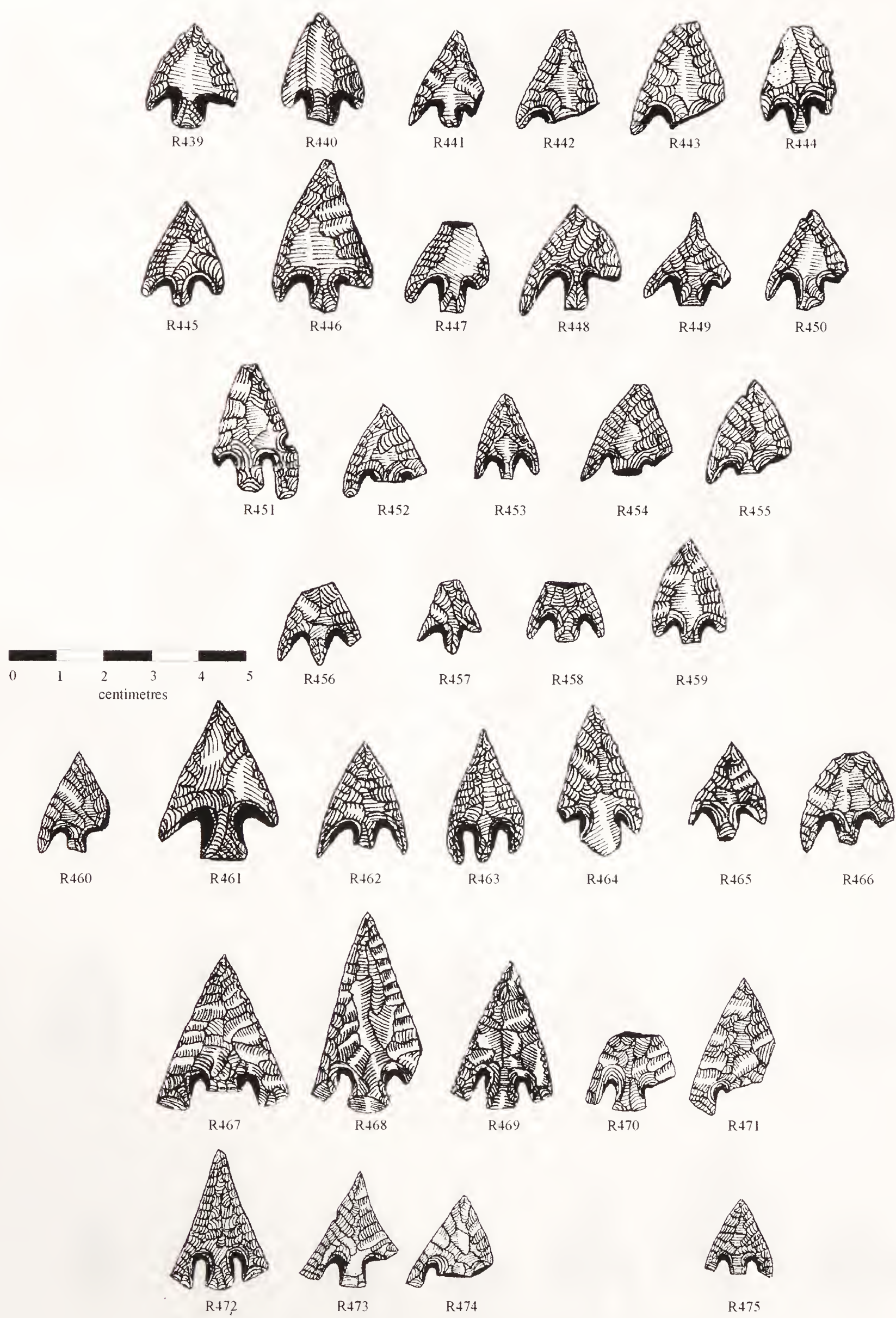


Fig. 14. Richardson Collection: Barbed and Tanged Types (part 2).

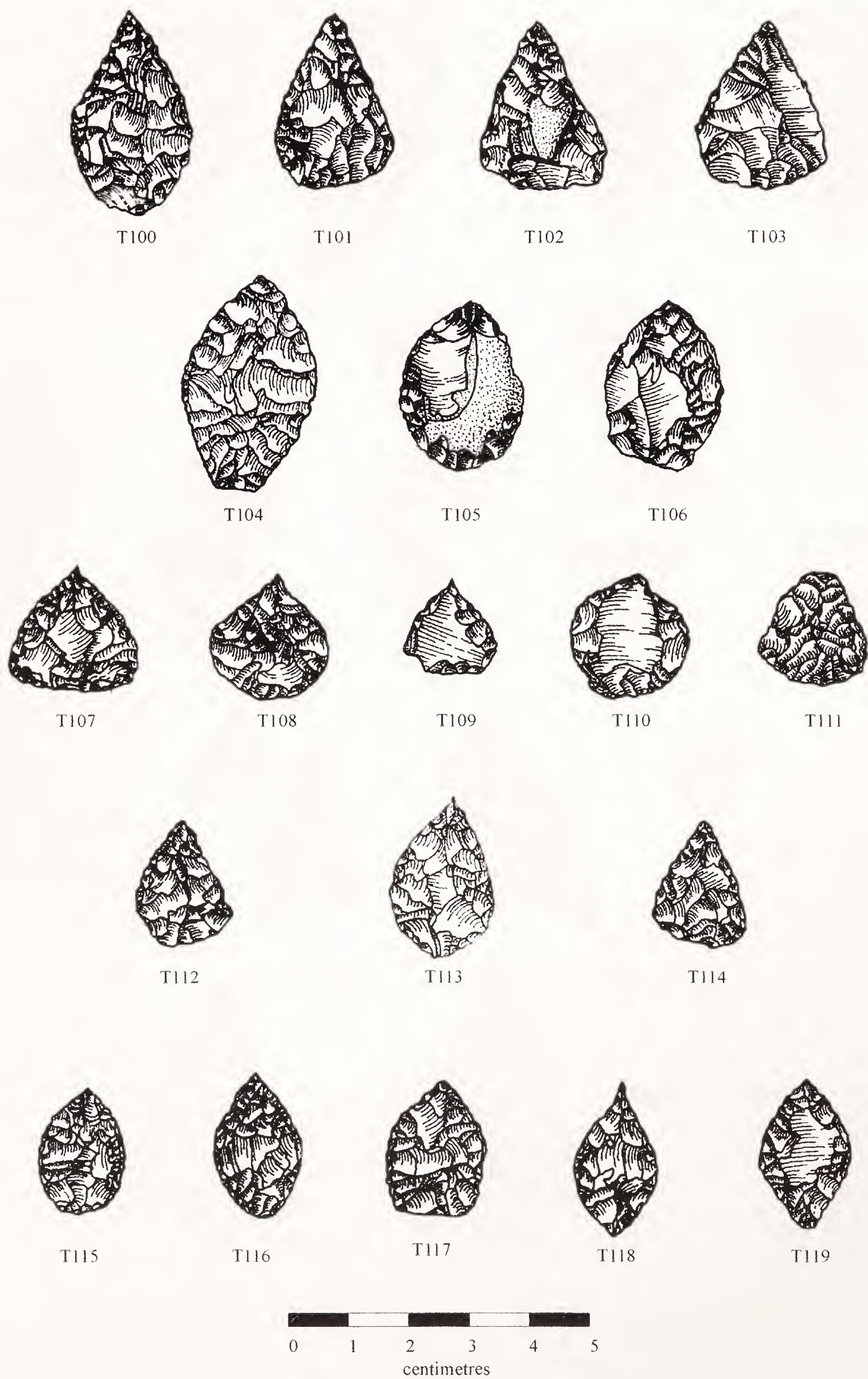


Fig. 15. Thorp Collection: Leaf Types.

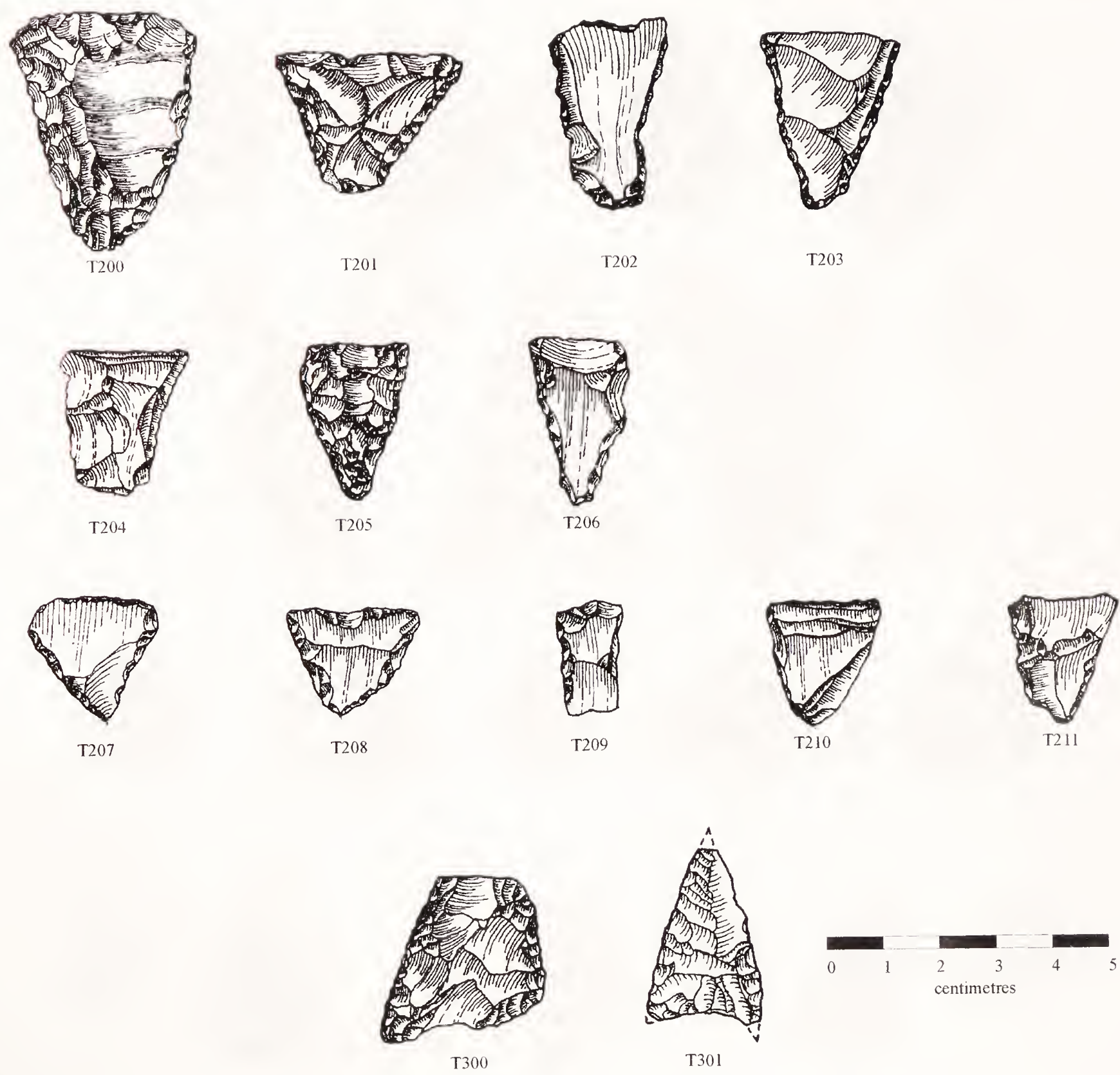


Fig. 16. Thorp Collection: Chisel and British Oblique Types.

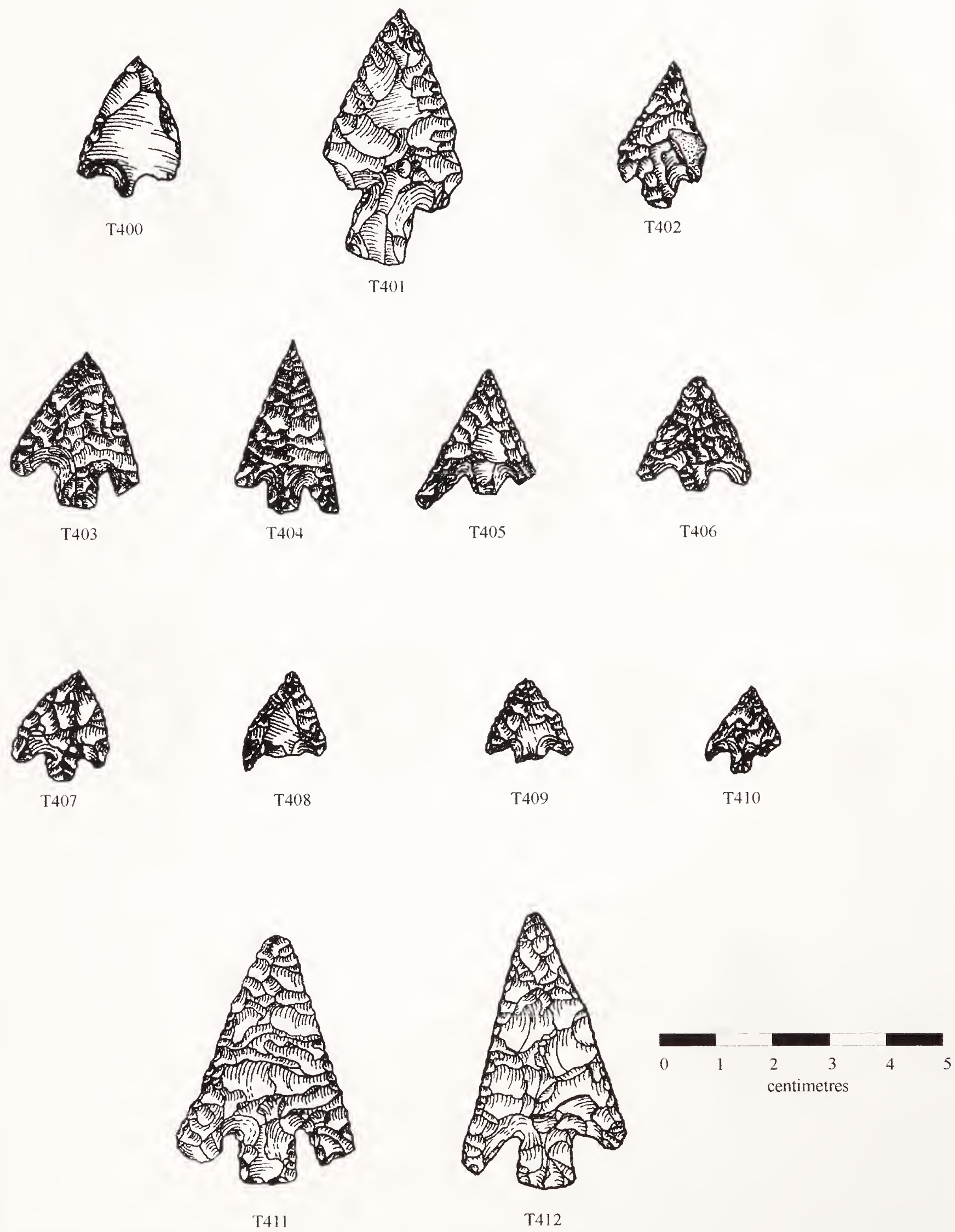


Fig. 17. Thorp Collection: Barbed and Tanged Type.



Fig. 18. Lord and White Collections.

ALDBOROUGH ROMAN TOWN: EXCAVATIONS BY MISS D. CHARLESWORTH, 1961–73, AND BY RCHME, 1959–60

*By Margaret Snape, Paul Bidwell and Alexandra Croom with contributions by
A. Aspinall, Brenda Dickinson, Kay Hartley, Joy Langston and
Steven Willis*

INTRODUCTION

Some of the Roman remains at Aldborough are in the guardianship of English Heritage, and the publication of the results of the excavations of 1959–73 has been commissioned by English Heritage as part of its policy of publication of excavations undertaken on guardianship sites.

The Roman site, now overlain by the modern village of Aldborough, occupied the rising ground on the south bank of the River Ure, at the point where Roman Dere Street crossed the river (Fig. 1). There has been no large-scale modern development to disturb the remains, and also comparatively little archaeological excavation, so knowledge of this important and potentially well-preserved site is limited.

There is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the earliest Roman activity on the site belonged to a fort occupied from the late first century into the early second, a successor to the recently discovered Flavian fort at Roecliffe a little to the west (Bishop 1996, 1). From the second half of the second century Aldborough was the site of the Roman town of *Isurium Brigantum*, the *civitas* capital of the tribe of the Brigantes. The town provides an unusual example of Roman urban development in northern Britain, with town defences and town house mosaics. The exceptional quality of the ‘Helicon’ mosaic and the rarity of its Greek inscription (see Johnson and Neal, this volume, pp. 113–34), demonstrate the wealth, learning and cosmopolitan culture of the town and the importance of its remains. Of further interest is the collection of second- and third-century military equipment, ‘comparable with assemblages from military frontier sites elsewhere in the Roman empire’, which may hint at a military presence within the town (Bishop 1996, 3). Extensive Roman cemeteries, including both cremations and inhumations, have been found outside the defences (Smith 1852, 21, 27; Jones 1971, 40); many inhumations were clustered against the outside of the town wall.

Coin evidence suggests that the town was occupied until the end of the fourth century. Parts of the town wall were demolished and rebuilt at a late date, and H. Ecroyd Smith was the first to note burials in the vicinity of the town walls (1852, 21). In the 1930s burials post-dating demolition of an external tower and a rebuild of the town wall were described as ‘Saxon’ and ‘Anglian’ respectively, although the wall repair was interpreted as late Roman (Myres *et al.* 1959, 25–27, 47). Dobinson (1988, 36) has suggested that the rebuild could be post-Roman. Some Anglian and Viking objects have been found in the town. Aldborough was eventually succeeded by Boroughbridge as the crossing place of the River Ure (Charlesworth 1971, 163).

Descriptions of the town, its history and the history of excavation and research can be

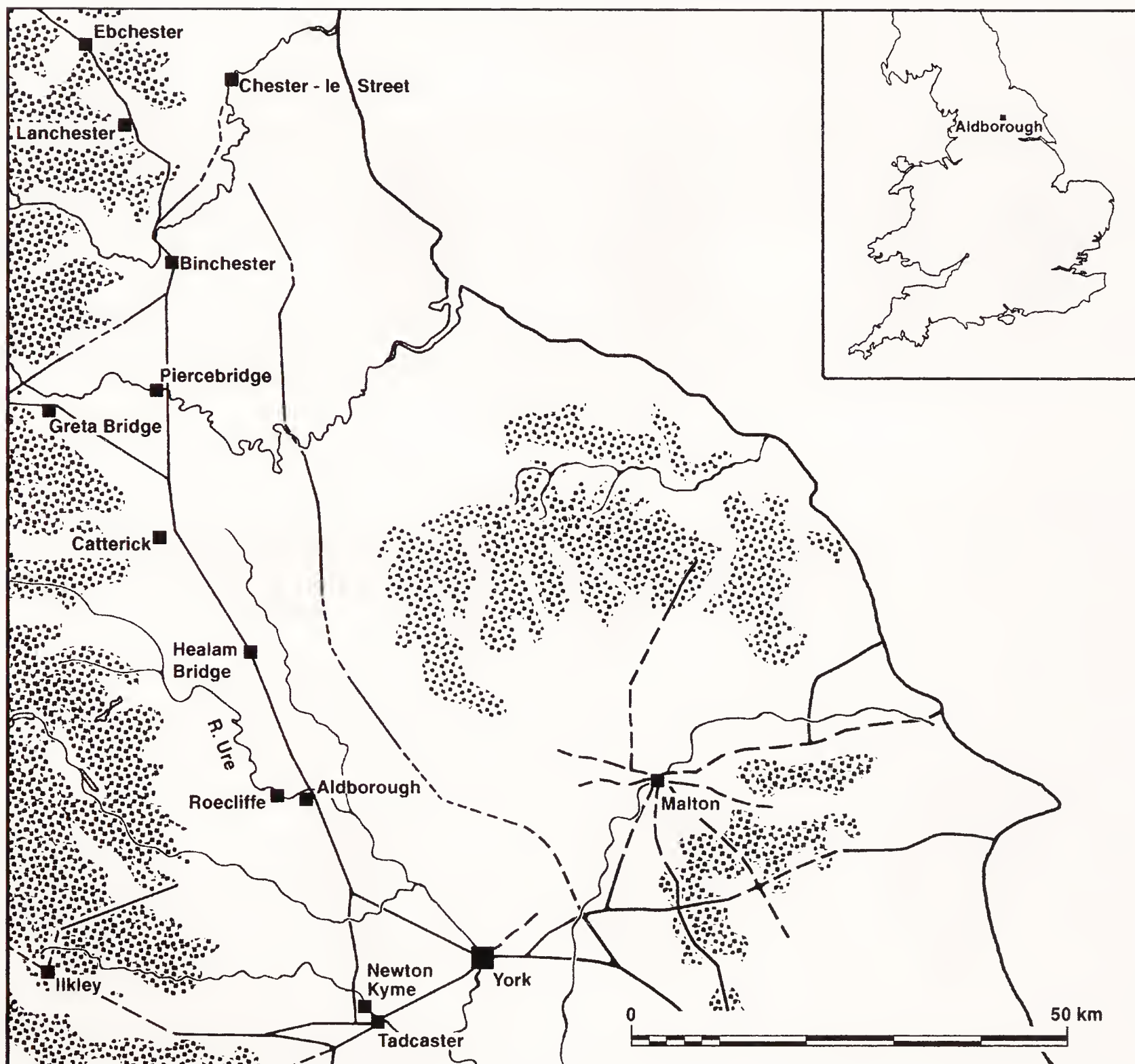


Fig. 1. Location map showing Aldborough Roman town in relation to Roman forts and Roman roads in the surrounding area and to major rivers.

found in several recent studies. These are an unpublished survey compiled in 1988 by C. Dobinson on behalf of the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, the English Heritage guidebook to *Aldborough Roman Town* (Dobinson 1995), *The Towns of Roman Britain* (Wacher 1995), *Finds from Roman Aldborough* (Bishop 1996), and two unpublished MA dissertations from York University, 'Reconstructing the Landscapes of Roman Aldborough: the "anatomy" of a civitas capital' (Herkes 1997) and 'A Survey of Suburban Aldborough' (Duffy 1998). Here only a brief summary is necessary.

The town has been known to antiquarians since the time of Leland. Eighteenth-century discoveries of buildings with mosaics and other finds were published in Drake's *Eboracum* in 1736, and in 1770 a range of rooms, interpreted as belonging to a forum, was discovered near St Andrew's church (Fig. 2). The early nineteenth century saw limited excavation of the defences and of internal buildings, many with mosaic floors, in the south-west quadrant of the town (Fig. 2). The results of these excavations were included in Henry Ecroyd Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* in 1852.

From 1934 to 1938 a campaign of excavations by the Roman Antiquities Committee of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society examined the defences and reached conclusions on their form, sequence and dating, also revealing evidence of early settlement underlying the defences. The published report (Myres *et al.* 1959) also included the results of excavations in 1924.

Archaeological excavation in the years 1959–73 was mainly in response to small-scale building development. Work on the southern defences in 1964 has already been published (Jones 1971). The other work of this period included watching briefs and trial trenches carried out by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England in 1959 and 1960 and excavations by Miss Dorothy Charlesworth, Inspector of Ancient Monuments at the then Ministry of Public Building and Works. These can be summarised as follows:

1959: an excavation by RCHME to the south of the Aldburgh Arms revealed the remains of stone walls and pottery of the first to the fourth century (unpublished, information in Charlesworth archive).

1960: a trench was cut by D. P. Dymond of RCHME through the western defences (Wilson and Richmond 1961, 169; Charlesworth 1971, 156, fig. 22). Two other excavations were carried out by Dymond near the centre of the town, at Dominie's Lodge and a site to the south of the church, which revealed structural remains (unpublished, information in Charlesworth archive).

1961: a 'limited sounding' by Miss Charlesworth within the town, south of the position of the east gate, revealed a timber structure succeeded by a masonry building of three phases (Wilson 1962, 166). Pottery sherds from this excavation were published (Charlesworth 1965).

1965: three sections were cut through the eastern defences, south of the east gate, to investigate the stone wall, earth rampart, two ditches and the foundations of an external projecting tower; evidence of occupation preceding the defences was also revealed (Wilson 1966, 200).

1967: work on the southern defences confirmed the presence of two internal towers and an external projecting tower (Wilson 1968, 180). The discovery of human remains indicated the presence of burials close to the town wall.

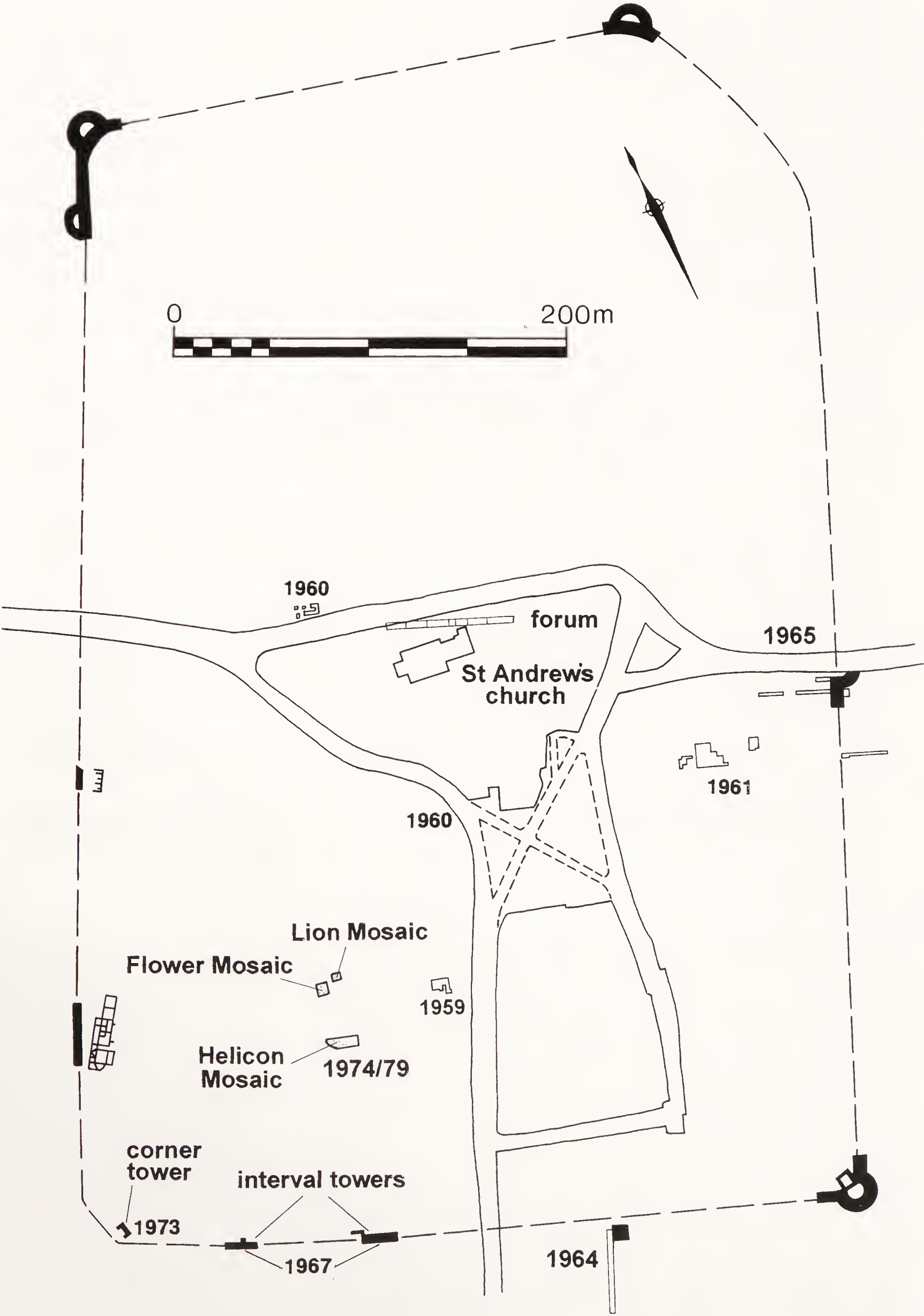
1973: excavation at the south-west corner of the defences did not locate evidence of an external tower, but uncovered the foundations of the town wall (Wilson 1974, 416).

Miss Charlesworth published a summary account of the defences in 1971. However, the remainder of this work has remained unpublished.

In 1974 Miss Charlesworth carried out work on the building containing the Helicon mosaic (Wilson 1975, 237). Re-excavation was carried out in this building in 1979 by Dr S. Johnson in advance of the consolidation and redisplay of the mosaic. This has provided the opportunity for further study of the mosaic, which is reported on elsewhere in this volume (pp. 113–34).

Survey and fieldwalking was undertaken in the 1980s. Since the compilation of the unpublished survey by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society in 1988, further fieldwalking and survey has been undertaken by Dobinson on behalf of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Esmonde Cleary 1990, 322), which is intended for publication. Watching briefs and evaluations have been undertaken (Esmonde Cleary 1994, 265). The only significant addition to our knowledge of Roman Aldborough which can be made at present is therefore the publication of the results of the excavations of 1959–73, described below.

The following reports embody the results of the excavations by RCHME and Miss Charlesworth. They have been compiled from records made at the time of excavation



and from interim notes and, in the case of the defences, a lengthier publication (Charlesworth 1971).

EXCAVATIONS BY THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF ENGLAND

EXCAVATION SOUTH OF THE ALDBURGH ARMS IN 1959

An excavation was carried out by RCHME in a yard to the south of the Aldburgh Arms from 27 April to 13 May 1959. The location is shown on Figure 2. In the Charlesworth archive there is a copy of a note sent from RCHME, York, describing the results of excavation, from which the following extract is taken.

The main feature was the foundation and lower course of a substantial wall *c.* 2ft 6ins (0.76m) wide and 2 ft (0.61m) deep, which projected some 13ft (3.96m) into the site. Its western limit could not be traced because of the modern building and at its eastern end it stopped abruptly. There was nothing to suggest a return to the north but after a gap of 2ft 8ins (0.81m) another pitched foundation, running off the site to the north under more modern buildings, was found [plan reproduced as Fig. 3]. . . . It consists of a single layer of closely packed stone over which lay about

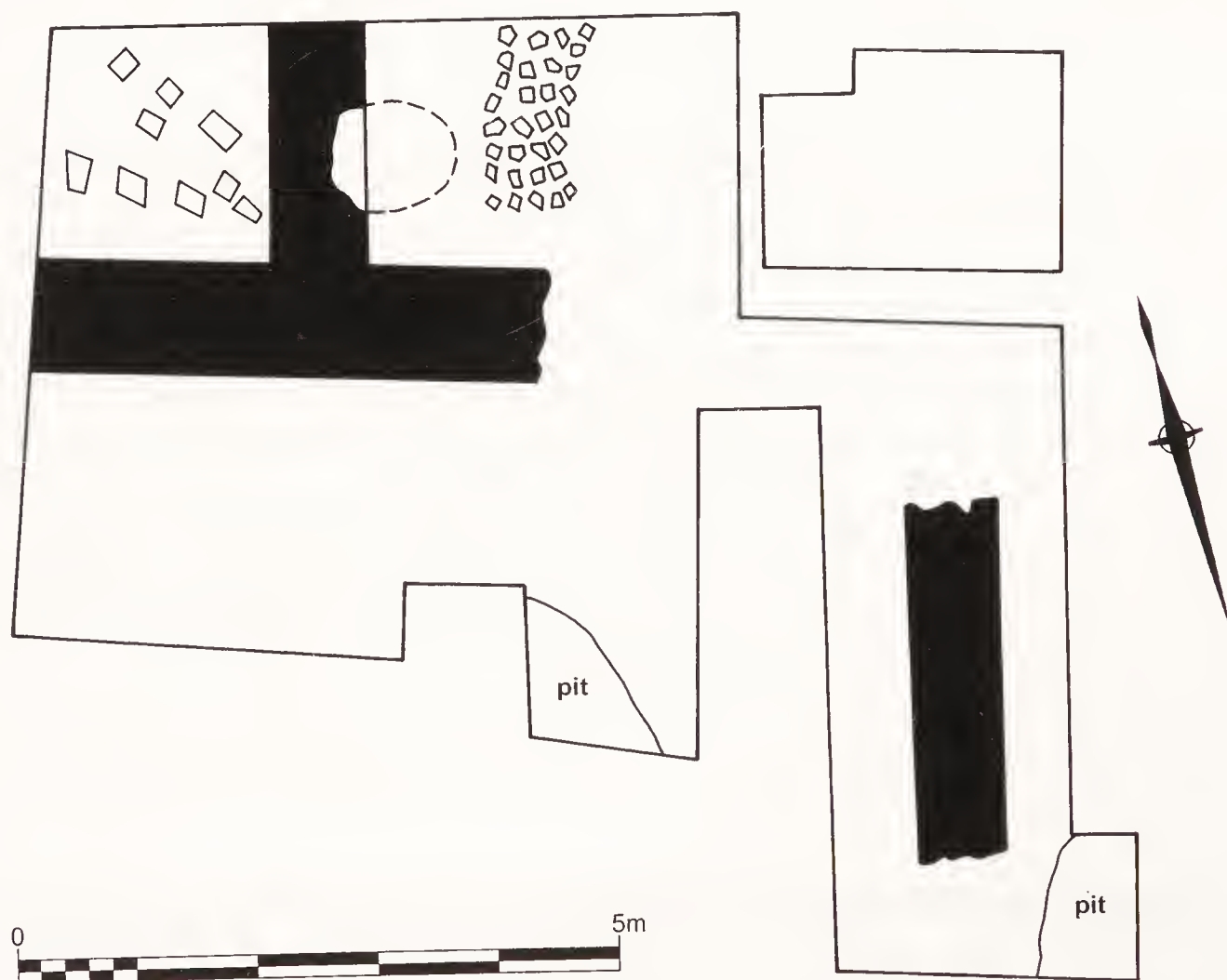


Fig. 3. Excavation trench of 1959, to the south of the Aldburgh Arms, showing the remains of structures, flagged surfaces and pits. Scale 1:100.

Fig. 2. Plan of Aldborough Roman town, with modern streets and church superimposed, showing the location of trenches excavated by RCHME in 1959–60 and by Miss Charlesworth in 1961–73. The structure to the north of the church, discovered in the eighteenth century, is suggested to be a *forum*.

Also shown are the Roman buildings discovered in the nineteenth century by H. Ecroyd Smith, including the Helicon mosaic, re-excavated in 1974 (Charlesworth) and 1979 (Johnson, see Johnson and Neal, this volume). Other investigations of the town wall, towers and ditches have been carried out in the 1930s (Myres *et al.* 1959) and in 1964 (Jones 1971).

1ft (0.30m) of soil and over that a layer of flagging which extended, with interruptions caused by modern pits, some 6ft by 9ft (1.83m by 2.74m).

The east/west wall was abutted by a secondary north/south wall, which stood three courses high on a foundation of two courses; it had been damaged by a pit containing a cow burial of unknown date. Both walls had been in use at the same time. Bad weather prevented the complete excavation of the north/south wall, but it was thought that at one point it was subsiding into an earlier feature.

The cow burial also interrupted the east end of an irregular line of three substantial sandstone blocks (not shown on Fig. 3), running roughly parallel to the east/west wall and to the north of it. There was a return running southwards under the modern buildings to the west. These features were assumed to be of a different phase from the east/west wall because they were of a different character and stood on a heavy clay layer rather than on a stone foundation. Another short length of north/south wall is shown in an eastern extension to the trench (Fig. 3).

The small quantity of pottery, ranging in date from the first to the fourth century, was not found in contexts useful for dating the structures, and no coins were found. Covering much of the area was a large quantity of decayed red sandstone, which had been deliberately levelled off. It was suggested that this represented a flagged area, which might be later than the Roman period. It was certainly pre-nineteenth century.

Small finds

The small finds from these excavations consist of a stone disc and a tile disc (Bishop 1996, 101, no. 660; 103, no. 685).

EXCAVATION SOUTH OF THE CHURCH IN 1960

In 1960 two small excavations were carried out by D. P. Dymond of RCHME. The location of one is described in the Charlesworth archive as ‘... to the S. of the church, immediately west of the line of the Roman road ... The site had been much disturbed in modern times when part of it was levelled for the building of cottages.’ This corresponds to a site just to the south-west of the bend in the main north/south village street, shown on the most recent OS map as occupied by a house called Holmdale. The 1909 OS map shows part of this site occupied by small cottages, and presumably their replacement by a new house was what prompted the excavation.

Part of a building was found in the south-west corner of the site. To the north of this, lying very close to the surface, were the remains of a substantial drain (Fig. 4).

Drain

The excavated length was just under 32 ft (9.75 m). The floor was of red sandstone flags, roughly 2 ft (0.61 m) square and the sides were of dressed red sandstone blocks. The archive account states that ‘in places this stood to its full height and the coping stones along the top show that it cannot have been covered in’. Section 1, drawn at the western end of the trench (Fig. 5), appears to show a dressed coping stone in position on the northern side.

This section shows the maximum number of courses at each side was six, the average height being 2 ft 3 in. (0.69 m). The depth of the construction trench was at least 2 ft 10 in. (0.86 m) and the southern wall was faced only on the inner side. The width of both side walls at the western end was 2 ft 2 in. (0.66 m), the northern wall widening to 3 ft 6 in. (1.07 m) at the eastern end (Fig. 4). The southern side wall was not fully explored. The maximum width of the channel was 2 ft (0.61 m); Figure 4 shows it narrowing slightly towards the east.

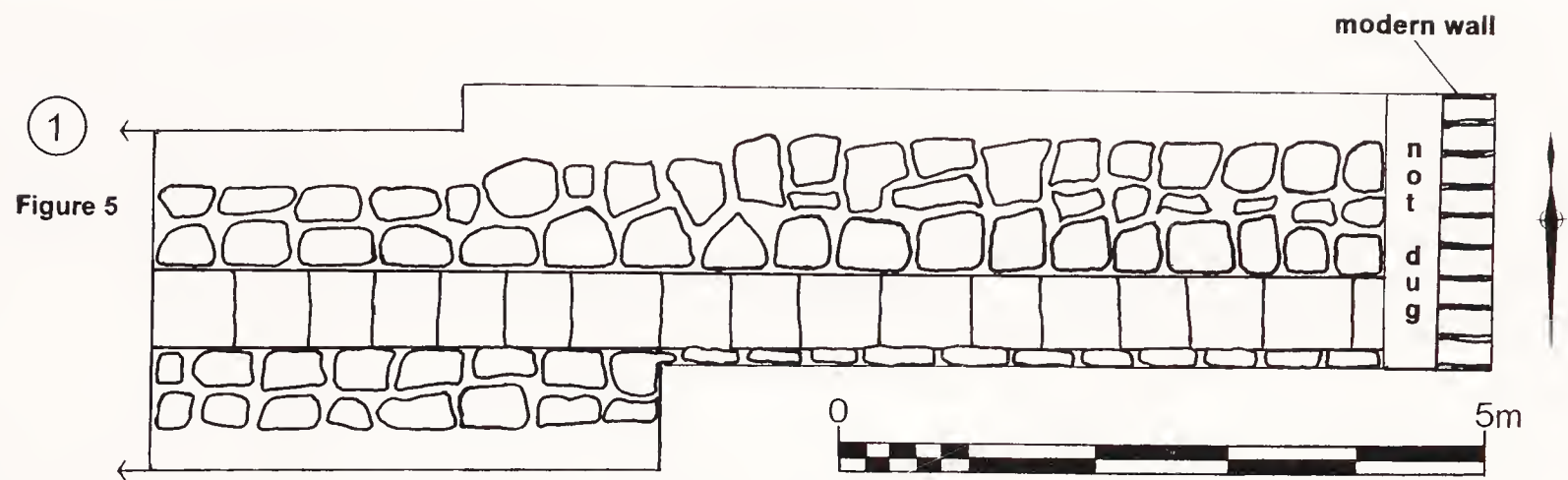


Fig. 4. Plan of trench excavated in 1960 at a site to the south of the church, showing a large stone-lined drain. Scale 1:100.

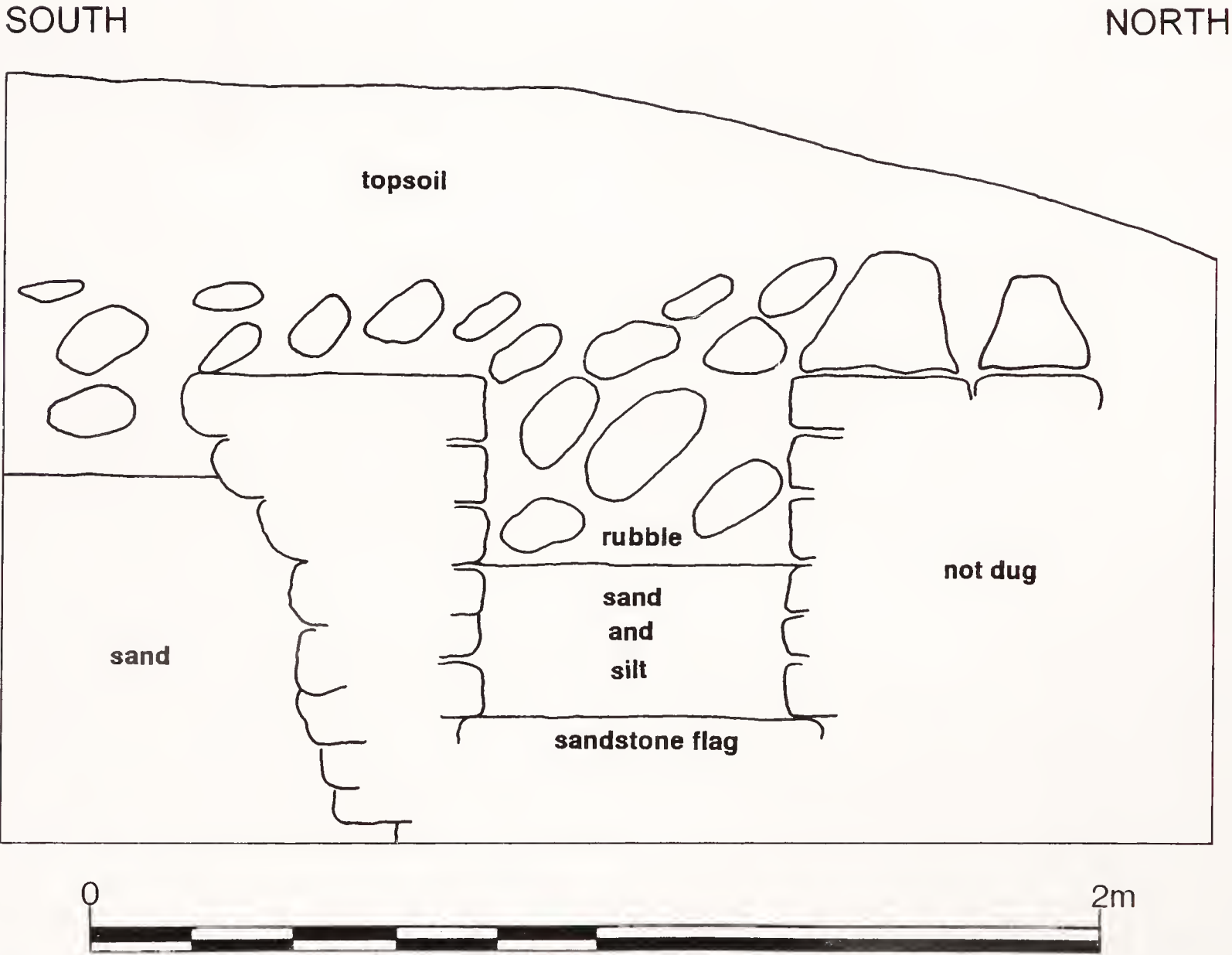


Fig. 5. East-facing section (1960, Section 1) through the drain. Location of section shown on Figure 4. Scale 1:20.

About 1 ft (0.30 m) of clean sandy silt had accumulated in the bottom of the channel. There were no finds in it and there is no record of any pottery from anywhere on the site. A layer of rubble overlay the tops of the walls and filled the upper part of the channel.

It was noted in the archive account that the alignment of this feature, WNW/ESE, suggested that it could have been connected with the bath house found in the nineteenth century beside the western defences. However, there need not necessarily be a connection;

it is clear from the plan of what is known of the town that many structures were laid out on this alignment.

The presence of drains or aqueducts on the site was noted in the nineteenth century. Smith refers to a structure apparently constructed of, or at least including, tiles. 'A vaulted passage, running in the direction of the river, and probably a portion of an aqueduct or drain, is stated to have been found on digging a cellar during the civil wars. Some of the tiles which composed it may be seen in the Manor grounds' (1852, 47).

Building

Field sketch plans, not published here, give some details of the structural remains. One plan shows the right-angled junction of two walls, one wall partially robbed, but dressed facing stones *in situ* elsewhere. An annotation suggests that the face of one wall was plastered.

The other plan shows a short length of wall, also of dressed stones, apparently on a cobble foundation. An annotation indicates that six courses survived. To one side of the wall was a patch of burning, and building debris, including slate (presumably stone roofing tiles), tile, plaster and flagging. The archive account also mentions a quantity of wall plaster in one corner of the building.

Finds

There is no record of pottery or finds from this excavation.

EXCAVATION AT DOMINIE'S LODGE IN 1960

The other excavation carried out by D. P. Dymond of RCHME in 1960 was at a site called Dominie's Lodge. The most recent OS map shows this to be a house on the northern side of the main east/west road through the village and to the west of the main north/south axis. A note in the Charlesworth archive states that '... only a narrow area between the southern edge of the foundations for a bungalow and the modern road was available for excavation'.

The remains found in this excavation (Fig. 6) are shown on a published plan as two parallel walls forming a corridor running WNW/ESE (Charlesworth 1971, fig. 20).

Smith (1852, pl. III) shows 'foundations lately discovered' to the north of the east/west street in a position which corresponds roughly to the north-west corner of the plot in which Dominie's Lodge is situated, or perhaps the plot to the west of it. He also stated that '... portions of the pavement of a long corridor, northward from the village street, have at times been uncovered, but their site is mostly occupied by buildings' (1852, 43). This corridor is not the same as the parallel walls found in 1770 south of the street beside the church, as they are described elsewhere (*ibid.*, 47). He could instead have meant the corridor seen in the Dominie's Lodge site, the buildings referred to being the row of cottages along the north side of the village street.

It is possible this represents the northern extent of a building, since *opus signinum* flooring was found between the two walls and to the south, but is not recorded to the north. The plan shows that the two walls were 10 ft (3.05 m) apart. The southern wall was traced for a length of 41 ft (12.50 m); two phases were present, the first being of yellow sandstone, the second of red sandstone.

In both the east-facing section (Fig. 7) and the west-facing section (Fig. 8) the lowest deposit is shown as a level layer of cobbles; a slab foundation for the southern wall appears to rest on this. Section 2 (Fig. 7) shows only the earlier phase of the wall; an offset foundation slab and the five courses above survive to a total height of 2 ft 5 in. (0.74 m). The width of the wall above the offset is shown as 2 ft 4 in. (0.71 m). The

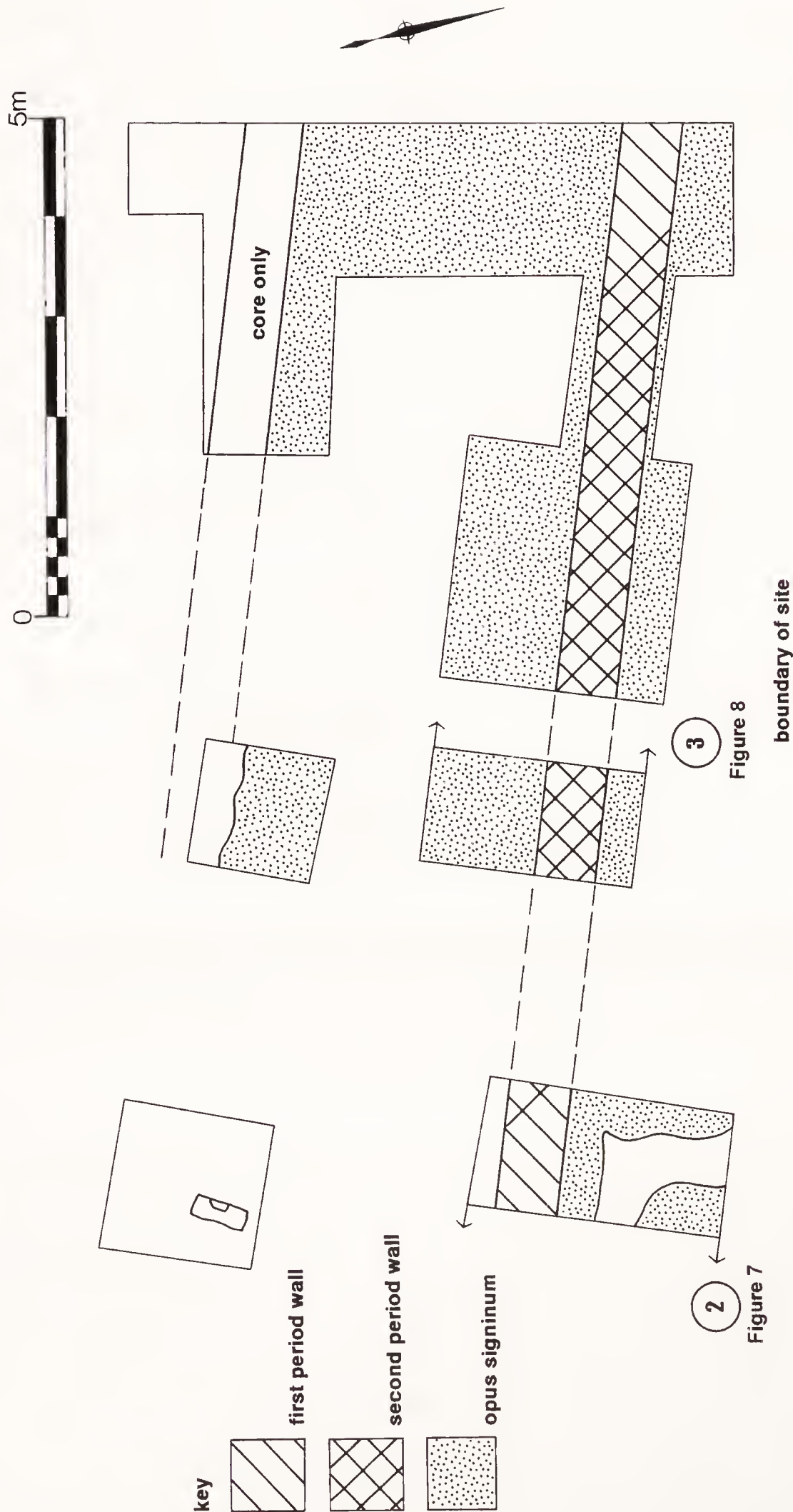


Fig. 6. Excavation trenches of 1960 at Dominic's Lodge, showing remains of a masonry building with *opus signinum* floors.
Scale 1:100.

SOUTH

NORTH

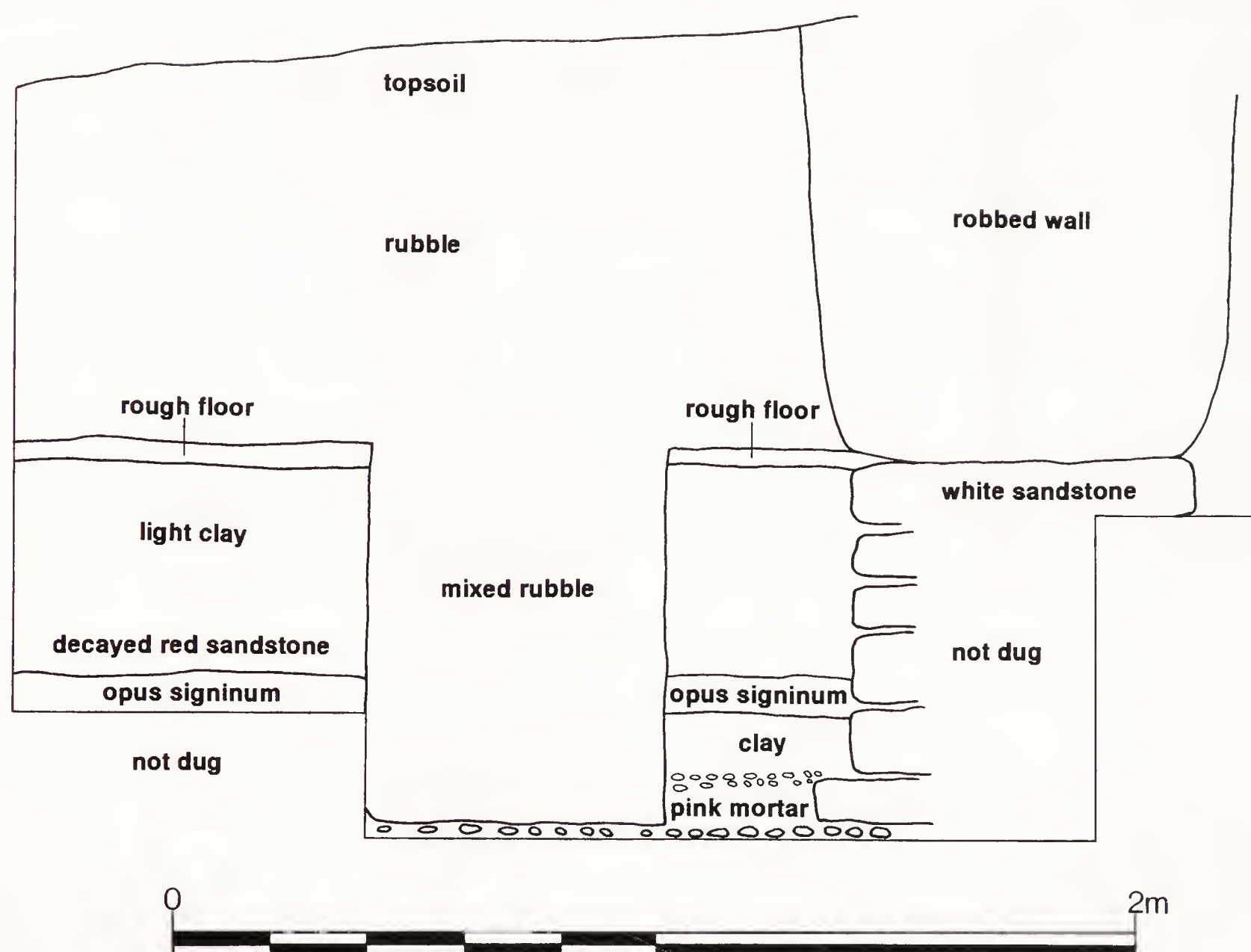


Fig. 7. Dominie's Lodge, east-facing section (1960, Section 2), showing the first phase of the southern wall, the sequence of floor layers and later robber trenches. Location of section shown on Figure 6. Scale 1:20.

section also shows the approximate limits of a robber trench for the second phase of the wall.

The floor to the north of this wall, i.e. in the 'corridor', was not dug, but to the south a sequence of flooring was revealed. The lowest deposits appear to have consisted of well-constructed bedding material. Overlying the cobbles mentioned above was a mixed layer of clay and pink mortar, the top of which was level with the top of the offset foundation, and which was covered by a thin layer of gravel. Above the gravel was a clay layer, which lapped over the foundation and extended up to the top of the first course of the wall. The *opus signinum* floor was laid on top of this. The total depth of make-up was 9 in. (228 mm) and the depth of the *opus signinum* was 3 in. (76 mm).

Above this floor was a levelling layer, 1 ft 5 in. (0.43 m) deep, consisting of rubble, mainly decayed red sandstone, set in a clay soil. A second phase of floor rested on this. This was described as a 'rough floor' of cement, stones and mortar, only one and a half inches (38 mm) in depth. This abutted the top of the highest surviving course of the first phase wall.

A robber trench had been dug through both floors, down to the level of the basal cobble layer; its fill was mixed rubble. The plan shows the trench had a ragged edge, and curved to the south. An annotation on the section suggests this might alternatively

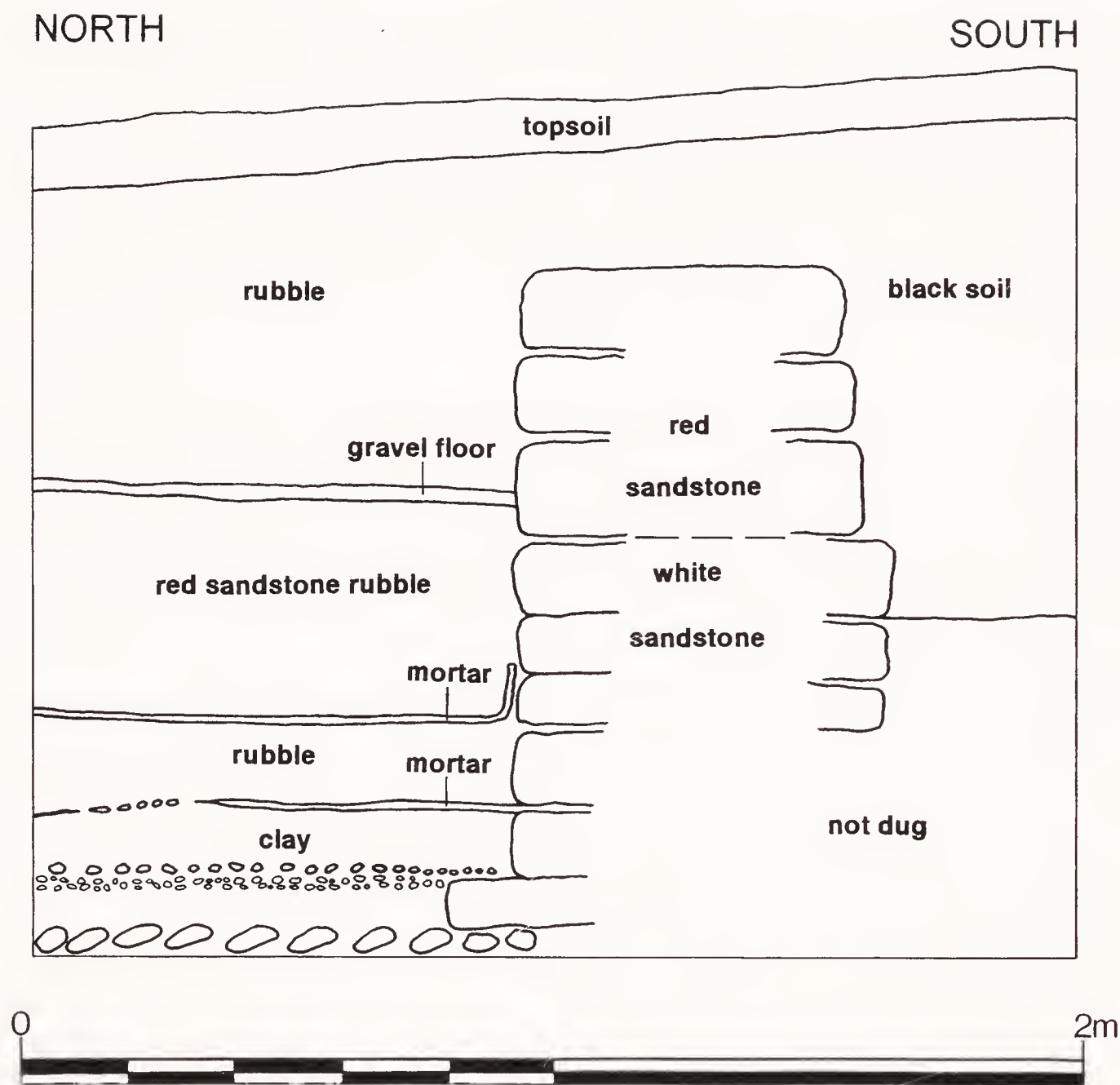


Fig. 8. Dominic's Lodge, west-facing section (1960, Section 3), showing both phases of the southern wall and a sequence of floor layers. Location of section shown on Figure 6. Scale 1:20.

have been an early excavation trench. This trenching and the robbing of the stone walls may relate to the early nineteenth-century discoveries referred to by Smith (*op. cit.*).

Section 3 (Fig. 8) shows both phases of the southern wall. The first phase is exactly the same as in Section 2, and survives to the same height. Above that is a slightly narrower wall of larger red sandstone blocks, with three courses surviving. The total height of both phases was 4 ft (1.22 m). In this section the floor to the south of the wall was not dug, but a sequence of floor layers is shown to the north, along the presumed 'corridor'. The same make-up layers were found, but the floor layers differed slightly from those to the south.

Level with the top of the first course of the wall above the offset was a very thin layer described on the section as mortar. Above is a layer of rubble, covered by another thin mortar layer which is shown to lap up against the third course of stone in the wall, the combined depth of these three layers being roughly 7 in. (0.18 m). It is not clear whether this represents two separate and rather insubstantial phases of flooring, or a single substantial *opus signinum* floor incorporating a large amount of rubble. Perhaps the latter is more likely for a corridor which might be expected to have had to survive heavy wear.

Above this were layers similar to the later phase seen to the south of the wall in Section 2, comprising red sandstone levelling material and a floor surface of gravel.

In both trenches there was an overburden of at least 2 ft (0.61 m) of rubble in black soil, and a thin layer of topsoil.

The northern wall of the corridor had been more extensively robbed. Only the core was found at the eastern end of the excavation; it was uncovered for a distance of 11 ft (3.35 m). Further west the evidence for the wall appears to be the ragged edge of a robber trench cut through the *opus signinum* floor. It is not clear whether the feature shown on the most north-westerly trench of the plan is intended to represent a robber trench or a fragment of wall.

Pottery

The assemblage includes pottery ranging from first- or second-century reeded rimmed bowls to a mid-fourth-century Huntcliff type rim. There is also an East Yorkshire grey ware flanged bowl with internal wavy lines, which is the latest datable Roman vessel on the site, of *c.* AD 360+. (Illustrated pottery: Fig. 30, nos 30, 38; Fig. 32, nos 51, 55, 60.) Also found was a mortarium stamp (no. 18, not illustrated).

Small finds

A bone cheekpiece and two pottery discs were recovered from the excavations (Bishop 1996, fig. 3, no. 4; 103, nos 702 and 705).

EXCAVATIONS BY MISS CHARLESWORTH

EXCAVATION WITHIN THE TOWN IN 1961

The summary of the 1961 excavation described it as a 'limited sounding' (Wilson 1962, 166). The location was given only as 'just S. of the presumed site of the E. gate', but there are sufficient annotations on the field drawings to locate the excavation in the southern end of the garden of a house shown as 'Stonehaven'; this house is built on the site of a former orchard, shown on the OS map of 1909. The excavation trenches were thus centred *c.* 60 m (*c.* 200 ft) from the east wall of the town, and *c.* 75 m (*c.* 246 ft) south of the presumed line of the main east/west road. However, the findspot of a bowl with a graffito was given as: '... about 100 ft (30.48 m) W. of the E. wall of the town ...' (Wright 1962, 198, no. 48). As this is considerably to the east of the excavation, either it is a misprint, or the pot was a stray find coming from the narrow strip of orchard shown running east on the 1909 map. The summary states that the excavation '... found traces of a first-century timber house succeeded by three periods of masonry foundations of the late first to the third century'.

Timber phase

The evidence suggests that there were two timber phases, the earlier represented by post trenches, the later by post holes. The evidence comes from three areas.

The eastern side of the excavation was enlarged by a small square trench extending northwards (Figs 9a and 10). A sondage was dug in the centre of this extension, down to the fine gravel subsoil, and in it was located the edge of a construction trench, presumably for a post trench running north/south. The top of the construction cut was 8 ft 5 in. (2.57 m) below modern ground surface; the type of fill was not specified, although its colour was described as 'yellowish'. A post hole was found on the presumed line of the post trench and dug from a level 1 ft 6 in. (0.48 m) above it. The post hole extended at least down into natural subsoil, but was not explored further. A *terminus ante quem* for the post hole was given by the overlying layer, said to contain Hadrianic pottery. On the field plan there is a large patch of charcoal in the south-east quadrant of this trench; an

annotation states that it was found at a depth of 7 ft (2.13 m) below modern ground surface, i.e. at roughly the same level as the top of the cut for the post hole.

At the northern end of the site (Fig. 9a), at EF, there were two rather irregularly-shaped timber features, presumably post trenches; they were parallel, roughly 4 ft (1.22 m) apart, and running north/south. A post hole is shown close to the inner edge of each. Unfortunately no drawing of section EF has survived, so the relationship between post holes and post trenches is unknown. At a distance of 8 ft (2.44 m) to the south-east of the post hole at E and in line with it, there were two further post holes, 3 ft (0.91 m) apart.

In the north-facing section (Fig. 12) through the roughly square room in the centre of the site (Figs 9a and 9b) the lowest layer of clean sand may represent natural subsoil. Overlying it was a layer of 'dirty sand' (context 27), on average 1 ft (0.30 m) deep, containing burnt material, bone and pottery of the first and second centuries, and covered by an unbroken turf line. All the masonry walls shown in section were cut from layers well above the turf line. Unfortunately the field drawings of the section do not distinguish between the different phases of wall, but it is clear from the plan (Fig. 9a) that the masonry at the west side of the section ought to include the foundations of the earliest phase. The inference seems to be therefore that the mixed-sand layer represents either occupation or demolition of timber structures, followed by a delay before the construction of the first stone building.

The same mixed-sand layer was also found in excavating the 'corridor' (Figs 9a and 9b, phase 3). The section at the southern end was unfinished and is not published, but Section JK near the northern end (see Fig. 13) seems to show walls of phases 2 and 3. The same layer of mixed sand (context 27) is also shown, sloping down from west to east, and does not appear to be contemporary with any of the masonry features. Although cut at the western side for a stone wall, which by reference to Figures 9a and 9b can be shown to belong to phase 3, the foundations were clearly cut from a higher level.

On section AB at the southern limit of the site (Figs 9a, 9b and 11) the lowest deposit is described as 'yellow sand', but annotations on the field drawing make it clear that this was a mixed sandy layer, and it is in fact likely that several deposits have been included in this layer. Clean sand was only found at the bottom of the sondage beside the most westerly walls.

Stone building

Annotations on the field drawing of Figure 12 state that the site was levelled up before the construction of the stone building. Above the unbroken turf line is a layer of sand and rubble, an average of 1 ft (0.30 m) in depth. A discontinuous black line is shown on top of the rubble, and an annotation describes this as another turf line, interrupted in the centre by sandstone; the mortar above the rubble is described as a floor. A similar sequence is shown on Figure 13, where the lowest layer of mixed sand is overlain by sandstone, clay and soil, in turn overlain by a thin floor. However, there is no indication of a rubble layer in section AB at the southern limit of the excavation (Fig. 11); presumably the site had sloped down to the north.

Figure 9a is a plan prepared for publication by Miss Charlesworth. Enough of the masonry building was recovered to suggest a rectangular structure, its long axis aligned north/south, rebuilt twice on the same alignment so as to extend further to the north. Contemporary with the final phase were walls to the east and west which may represent further extensions or separate buildings.

Further small plans have been appended (Fig. 9b) to illustrate the individual phases. Phase 1 is represented by the southern end of a structure, 21 ft (6.40 m) in width (external measurement). Phase 2 involved the rebuilding of this part of the structure, and an

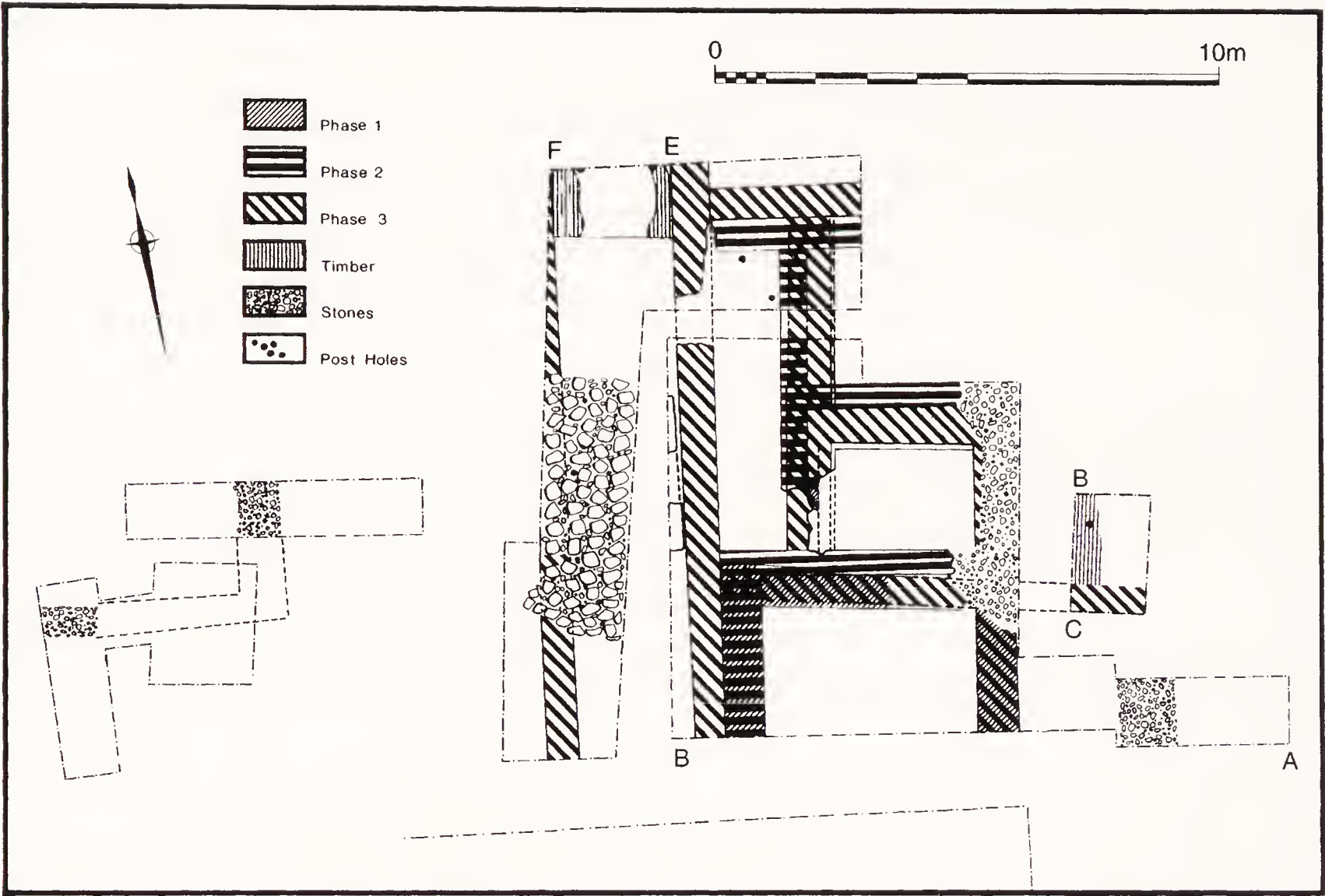


Fig. 9a. Charlesworth plan of the 1961 excavation trenches, showing features of all phases. Scale 1:200.

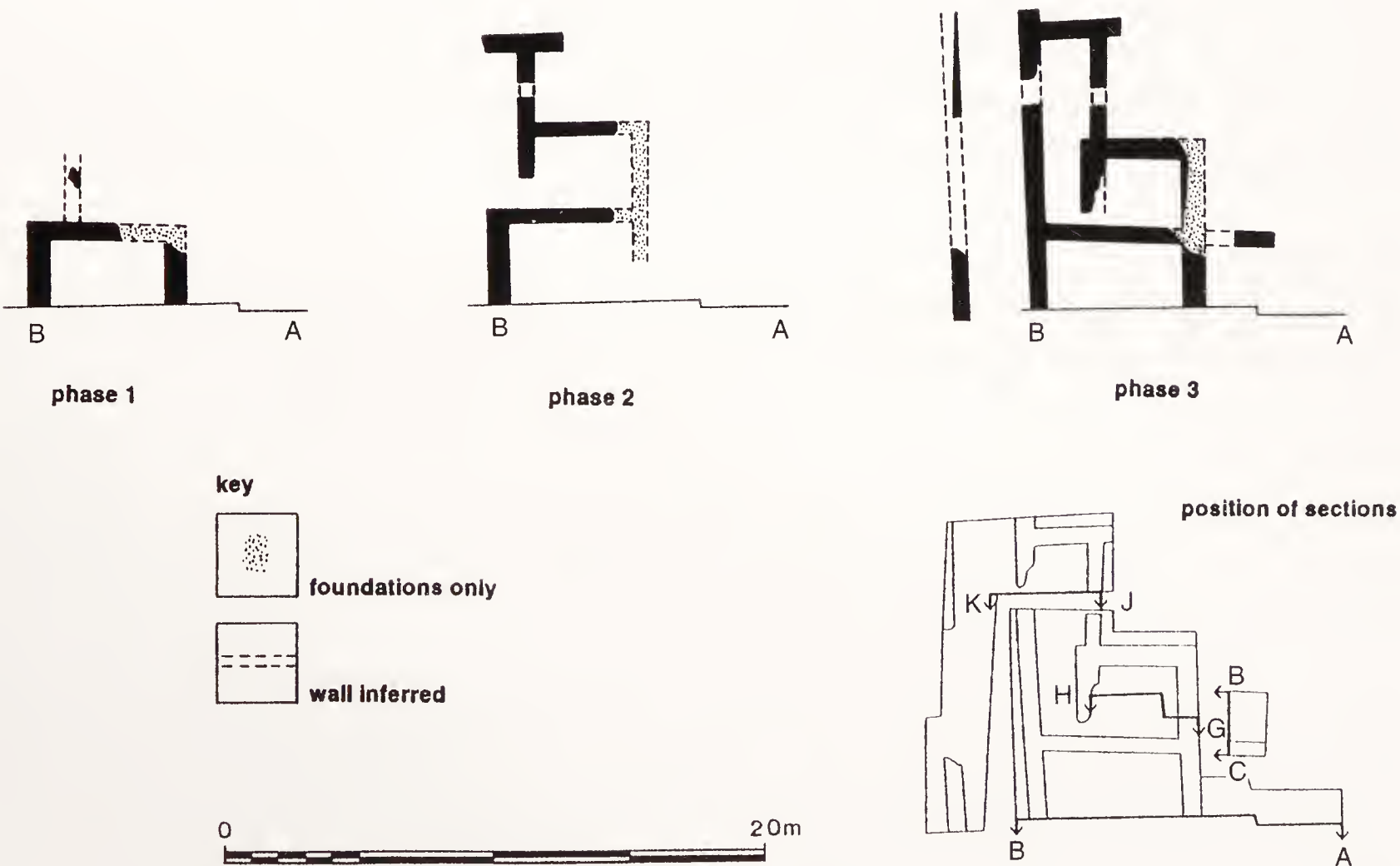


Fig. 9b. Block plans showing the three phases of the masonry building found in 1961 and diagram giving the location of sections. Section CB shown on Figure 10, Section GH on Figure 12 and Section JK on Figure 13. Scale 1:400.

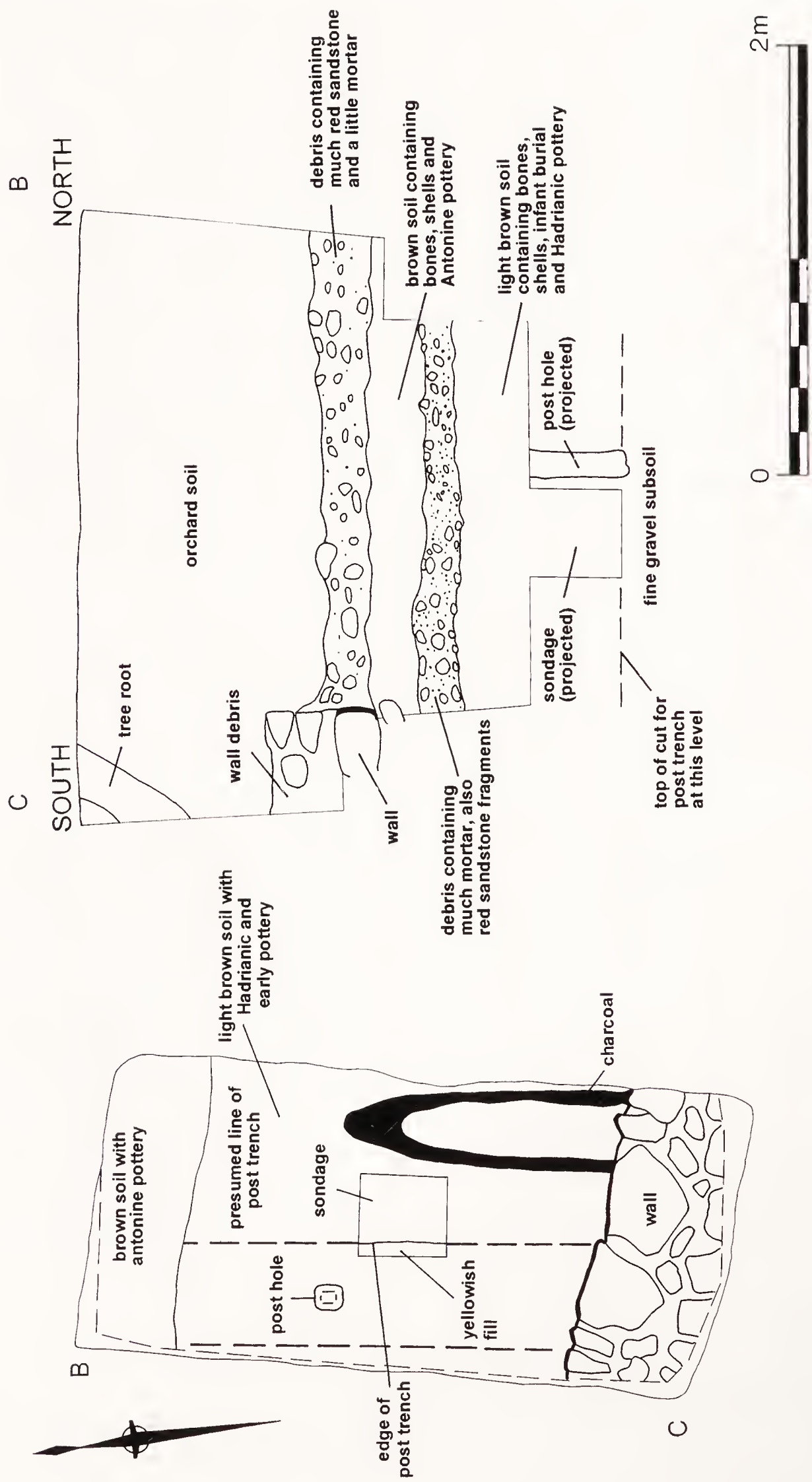


Fig. 10. At left, plan of features seen in the eastern box trench in 1961; to right, Section CB, east facing, through features in eastern box trench. Location of trench and section shown on Figures 9a and 9b. Both at scale 1:40.

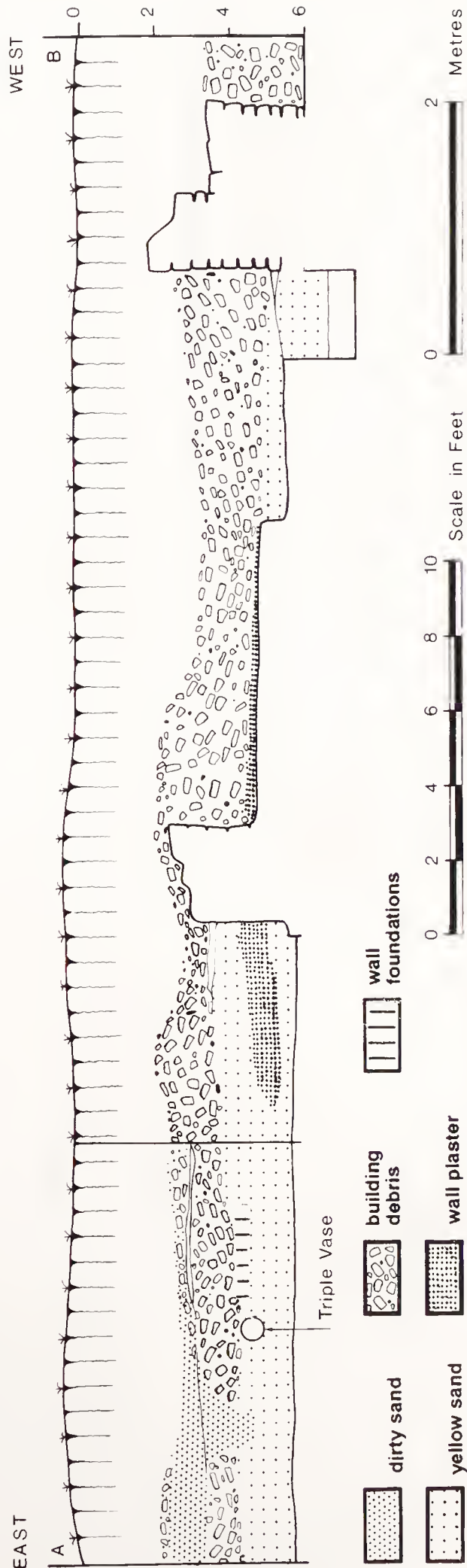


Fig. 11. Section AB, north facing, at southern limit of 1961 excavation trench. Location of section shown on Figures 9a and 9b. Scale 1:80.

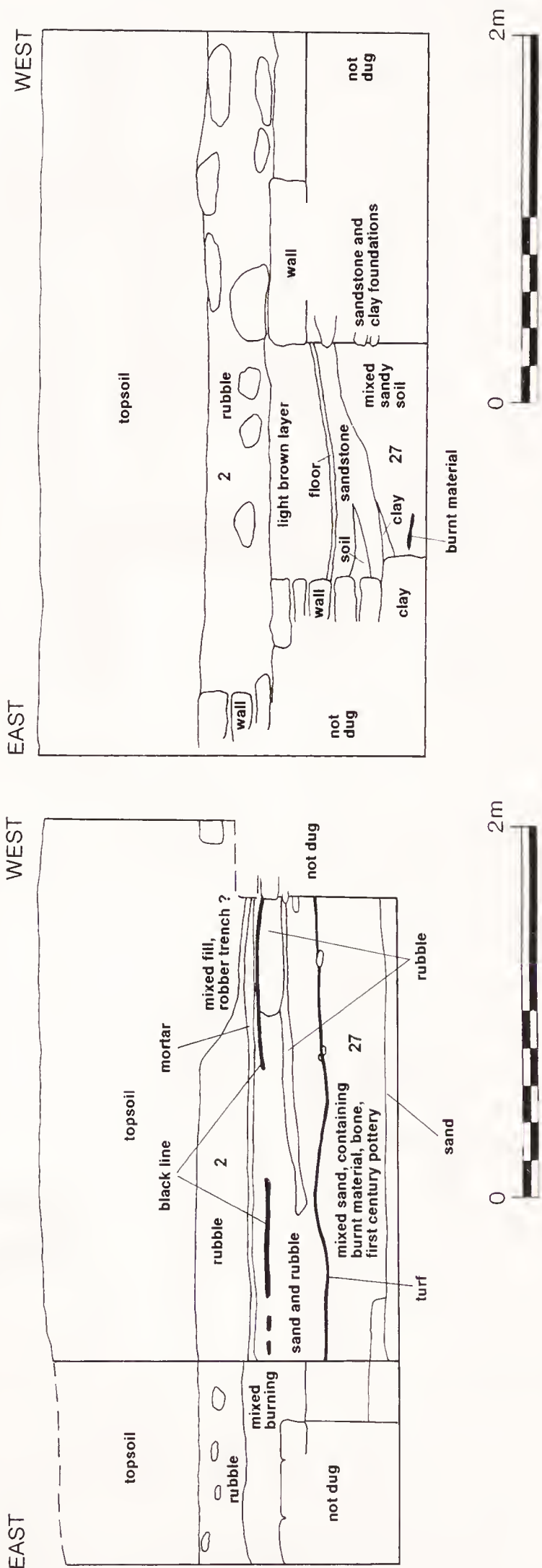


Fig. 13. Section JK, north facing, at northern end of building excavated in 1961. Location of section shown on Figure 9b. Scale 1:50.

addition, 25 ft (7.62 m) in length, on the northern side, which contained at least two extra rooms.

In the third phase all these walls were rebuilt, and an additional wall was built on the western side, increasing the external width of the building to 24 ft (7.32 m), and forming a corridor 5 ft (1.52 m) wide and 24 ft (7.32 m) long (internal measurements). The total excavated length of the building was 38 ft (11.48 m), but the western wall of the third phase continued beyond the limit of excavation. In the small box trench to the east, a short length of wall was uncovered which appeared to be a continuation of one of the east/west walls of the building. Also assigned to phase 3 was a wall 40 ft (12.19 m) in length, 7 ft 6 in. (2.29 m) to the west of the building and running parallel to it; however, there is insufficient evidence to say whether this represents another extension to the original building or was part of a separate structure.

Although part of the eastern side of the building had been robbed down to foundation level, most walls survived to a height of 3 ft (0.91 m), in some cases comprising six or eight courses. Plans and photographs show the masonry to be well constructed, and Section AB (Fig. 11) shows a large spread of wall plaster, which would seem to be associated with the decay of the phase 3 wall at the eastern side of the building.

A thin floor layer was seen in Section JK in the 'corridor' (Fig. 13); a thin layer of mortar was found in a similar position in the square central room (Fig. 12), and annotations on the field drawing describe this as a floor. In both cases it immediately overlies the levelling layer for the construction of the building, implying a primary floor level. An alternative explanation could be that it is simply a spread of construction mortar. It is clear from the pottery contexts that at least two floors were found, although their exact location is not specified. A label from pottery from context 18 refers to a flagged floor in the corridor.

The only wall shown on Section CB (Fig. 10) belongs to phase 3 (see Fig. 9), but the section does provide some helpful information on the sequence of construction and demolition. The lowest excavated layer in the trench, post-dating the timber phase, appears to have been occupation material, since it was described as 'rich light brown soil containing bones, shells, infant burial and Hadrianic pottery'. Overlying this was a layer of debris, which contained 'much mortar, also fragments of red sandstone', and sloped downwards from west to east; the large amount of mortar suggests that this probably represents construction debris. Overlying the debris was further occupation material, a brown soil said to contain bones, shells and 'Antonine pottery'. This was cut for the cobble foundation of the phase 3 wall.

The best interpretation of this seems to be that the layer containing the infant burial and 'Hadrianic pottery' is occupation material lying outside the phase 1 stone building, the mortar and sandstone fragments above represent a phase 2 construction spread, and the brown soil containing bones, shells and 'Antonine pottery' is phase 2 occupation material. However, on analysis the pottery has proved to be later in date than thought at the time of excavation. As indicated below, the samian in particular suggests a late date for the construction of the phase 1 stone building.

Above the soil was a thick layer of debris, which also apparently sloped from west to east. It contained only a little mortar, but much red sandstone. This may represent a combination of occupation material built up during the life of the buildings, together with debris from their final collapse or demolition.

Latest phases

Traces of wall foundations were found at both sides of the building. That at the extreme south-east ran north/south. It can be assumed to post-date the main building, since it is

shown on Section AB (Fig. 11) to cut into the layer of mixed sand containing the wall plaster mentioned above. Small trenches to the west revealed traces of foundations forming the right-angled corner of a structure on the same orientation; because of this, they are included here, but there is in fact no indication of the dating of these foundations. The two large stones seen at the western edge of the main excavation trench (Fig. 9a), adjacent to the west side of the long phase 3 wall, are described as a possible wall on the field drawing. The plan also shows a spread of large stones overlying the phase 3 wall to the west of the main building. These may represent a metalled or flagged surface rather than merely rubble, since none of the other rubble or building debris shown in section has been drawn on the plan.

Dating evidence from the pottery

Note: Pottery from these excavations was labelled with context number and a brief description of that context. Where it has been possible to relate a context number to a deposit drawn on a section, that number is shown on the section drawing.

Timber phase

The samian from the lowest level (context 12) is Flavian to Trajanic/early Hadrianic (nos 3–15; illustrated example Fig. 24, no. 13). It is predominantly South Gaulish, the latest two sherds being Central Gaulish from Les Martres, dating to *c.* AD 100–125. The coarse pottery from these contexts is first or early second century in date. (Illustrated pottery: Fig. 30 nos 29, 37; Fig. 31, nos 46, 50; Fig. 32, nos 52, 58.)

‘Mixed sand layer’ — redeposited sand with burnt material etc

This layer (context 27) contained a second-century mortarium flange fragment, probably of local manufacture (not illustrated). The coarse pottery is first or second century in date. (Illustrated pottery: Fig. 31, no. 47.) The samian (nos 16–18, not illustrated), all South Gaulish and at the latest dating to *c.* AD 70–100, is presumably residual.

Probable levelling before construction of the stone building

The coarse pottery group includes Nene Valley colour coated ware and must date to the second half of the second century or later (not illustrated).

The two sherds of samian from context 3 (no. 1 and Fig. 25, no. 2, the latter dated to AD 160–90) certainly pre-date the stone building and are crucially important in providing a mid-Antonine *terminus post quem*. Context 3 is described only as being ‘below the level of the footings’ and no further details of this deposit are given. As these two sherds are much later than the other pre-stone phase samian mentioned above, perhaps context 3 represents part of the pre-construction levelling.

It is possible to say only that the following come from the masonry building, but it is not possible to differentiate between the three phases.

Masonry building: construction, occupation or demolition phases

There is no coarse pottery necessarily later than the second century in date. Samian from context 59 was described on its finds bag as having been found while removing a floor. However the samian is residual South Gaulish; possibly it came from a floor make-up layer rather than the floor itself.

Demolition material or rubble from collapse, overlying the building

This material contained a sherd from a BB1 cooking pot with obtuse angle lattice with a groove and East Yorkshire Grey Ware, giving a date of the late third century or later

(not illustrated). The pottery also included a triple vase and a fragment of head pot (Fig. 31, no. 39; Fig. 32, no. 59). The mortaria were mainly of second century date, with one flange fragment dated to AD 190–260 (not illustrated).

Late material overlying the wall footings

A Huntcliff type rim shows that the occupation of the area continued until the mid-fourth century, but the group also includes medieval pottery (not illustrated).

Dating evidence: discussion

Timber phases

An annotation on the ‘mixed sand’ layer (context 27) found in the central part of the excavation (Fig. 12) states that it contained first-century pottery, although the surviving pottery suggests that the timber buildings probably lasted until the early second century. The turf line overlying the ‘mixed sand’ layer would seem to imply a break in occupation between the timber phase and the levelling up for the stone building.

Stone buildings

Although the 1962 summary of excavations stated that the stone buildings began in the late first century, the samian sherd dated to AD 160–190 clearly gives a *terminus post quem* of AD 160.

Section BC (Fig. 10) indicates that the layer suggested to represent phase 1 occupation contains ‘Hadrianic pottery’, presumably residual in the light of the evidence from the samian. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify which pottery context was being referred to. The same section drawing gives an Antonine *terminus post quem* for the construction of phase 3, but again, the exact pottery contexts are unidentified.

None of the surviving pottery from the building provides useful dating evidence for any of the occupation phases of the building, but the demolition or rubble collapse overlying the interior of the building (context 2; see Figs 12 and 13) contained a late-third-century or later group.

Small finds

From contexts pre-dating the stone building there were copper alloy armour scales (context 3; Bishop 1996, fig. 37, no. 416), and a fragment of copper alloy chain (context 12; *ibid.*, fig. 25, no. 266).

From contexts relating to the collapse or demolition of the stone building:

Copper alloy: chape (context 2; *ibid.*, fig. 37, no. 4210) stud (context 2; *ibid.*, fig. 35, no. 404) and mount (context 2; *ibid.*, fig. 38, no. 441).

Iron: buckle (context 2; *ibid.*, fig. 38, no. 434).

Pottery: disc (context 2; 114, no. 687; fig. 52, no. 687).

Stone: whetstone (context 2; *ibid.*, 113, no. 580; fig. 49, no. 580).

From contexts of unknown date and unstratified:

Copper alloy: divided bow brooch (context 54; *ibid.*, fig. 32, no. 327), harness strap fitting (*ibid.*, fig. 38, no. 433), pendant (*ibid.*, fig. 49, no. 592), two studs (*ibid.*, fig. 35, nos 387, 404) and a double-spiked loop (*ibid.*, fig. 45, no. 508).

Iron: sheet (*ibid.*, 114, no. 658; 101, no. 658) and nail (*ibid.*, 113, no. 534; 84, no. 534).

Pottery: disc (context 51; *ibid.*, 103, no. 699).

Stone: whetstone (*ibid.*, 123, no. 579, fig. 49, no. 579), whetstone (context 17; *ibid.*, 113, no. 578; fig. 49, no. 578).

EXCAVATION OF THE EASTERN DEFENCES IN 1965

An excavation was carried out by Miss D. Charlesworth in 1965 south of the presumed site of the east gate at Aldborough, in an area now occupied by two houses. Three sections were cut across the line of the town defences (Fig. 14; Trenches I–III); two other trenches (IV, V) were abandoned when no archaeological structures had been encountered when a depth of 6 ft (1.83m) had been reached.

Previous excavations of the northern defences in 1924, and of the northern defences and at the south-east corner in the 1930s, had found remains of early Roman occupation (Myres *et al.* 1959, 9). These were timber buildings, constructed in the late first century, and interpreted as *vicus* buildings associated with an early fort, the location of which is unknown. These structures were overlain by the later town defences; the excavators were emphatic that the stone defences had been constructed as a single episode: ‘No trace has been found of an earlier enclosing earthwork like those at Verulamium, Silchester, or Brough-on-Humber, and the town only emerges from obscurity in the full panoply of its stone defences’ (*ibid.*, 9). Evidence was found that projecting towers (incorrectly termed ‘bastions’ in earlier accounts) had been added to the circuit in the fourth century, when a new ditch was dug (*ibid.*, 12). It was also suggested that the towers had been demolished before the collapse or demolition of the walls.

The results of the 1965 excavations were summarised as follows:

Examination of the east defences . . . S. of the presumed site of the E. gate suggested that the sequence of construction was more complex than hitherto realised. (a) An original earthwork defence was laid out not earlier than AD 160–180 over earlier hearths and timber buildings. (b) This bank was cut back for the clay-and-cobble foundation of the town-wall, leaving a berm of 8 ft. The wall itself was erected, and the bank heightened, only after a 3-inch layer of soil and occupation-material had accumulated on the foundation. (c) The ditch, which had in some places been recut, was eventually filled with sandstone masonry rubble to support a bastion projecting 23 ft from the face of the wall. (Wilson 1966, 200)

The results of the 1965 excavation were also included in a paper on the town defences (Charlesworth 1971). The arguments for the more complex sequence of construction were developed; section drawings were used to show the suggested two stages within the rampart, a low earth bank said to be the primary earthwork and further material representing the second stage of rampart contemporary with the stone wall.

Subsequent studies by Bidwell (1980, 60) and Dobinson (1988, 23–26) have returned to the views of Myres *et al.* (1959) who had shown the wall and rampart were built at the same time (see p. 59).

The defences are described in Section 2 below.

1. OCCUPATION PRE-DATING PRIMARY DEFENCES

Running north/south in Trenches II and III was a road, a maximum of 8 m in width, of which the two phases of metalling were not precisely co-extensive. The section (Fig. 15) shows both phases were constructed of very small cobbles or pebble metalling.

The width of each phase of metalling cannot be determined more precisely, as there are discrepancies between the publication plan (Fig. 14) and the field plan. The eastern edge of both phases is clear from Figures 14 and 15, but the western edge is less certain. Only Trench II extended far enough to the west to have located this. The field plan clearly shows a total width of road metalling of *c.* 27 ft (8.2 m), although the full western extent has not been drawn on the publication plan. More importantly, the field plan does not state whether this western edge belongs to the first or second phase, and this is not clarified by the section (Fig. 15) which does not show the road fully excavated.

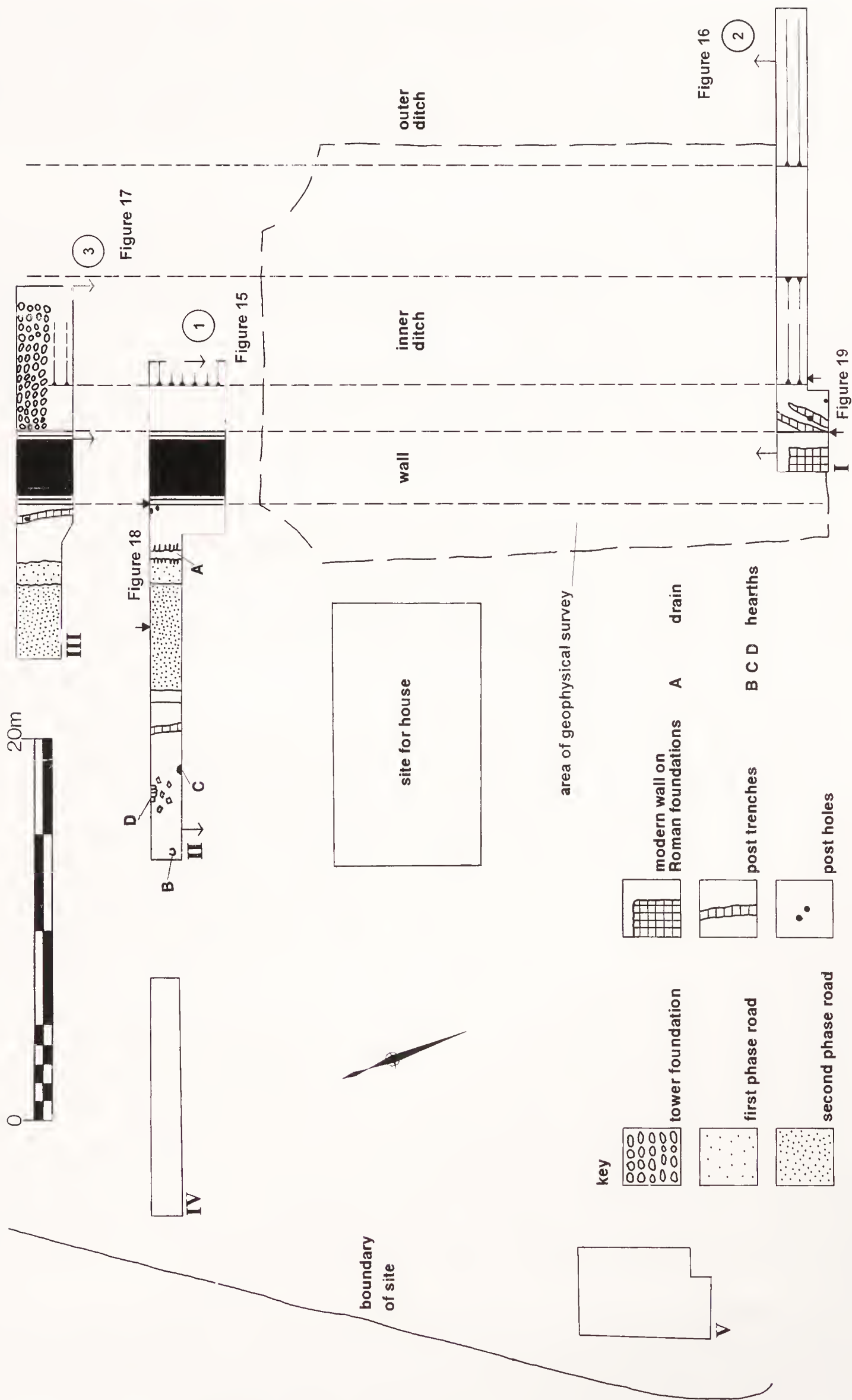


Fig. 14. Excavation trenches of 1965, through the eastern defences of Aldborough, showing the Roman town wall, two ditches, a street of two phases and features pre-dating the defences. Scale 1:400.

Some of the other features which pre-date the defences also show two phases. Only a few direct relationships between these features and the road can be deduced from the plans and section; for the sake of simplicity, in the following account the two structural phases are treated as if contemporary with the two phases of metalling, but it should be noted that the sequence may have been more complex. A few features cannot be tied into the sequence.

1a. First phase of road, beam slots

In Trench II the first phase of the road was bounded on its east side by a stone-lined drain (feature A on Figs 14 and 18). The drain cut is seen in section (Fig. 15), but the stone lining is not shown. It is curious that this feature was not recorded to the north in Trench III; possibly it had been robbed.

The publication plan, the field plan and the section all show a post trench, or beam slot, in Trench II, 27 ft (8.23 m) west of drain A, but on a slightly different alignment. It is placed in the first phase simply because the section shows it to be overlain by a second phase of occupation material, but there is no direct relationship between it and the road.

Figure 14 shows another post trench on the same alignment, 7–8 ft (2.1–2.4 m) to the east of the road. It is not shown on the field plan and nothing more is known of it.

Two parallel post trenches were found in Trench I (Figs 14 and 19), lying 20–25 ft (6.1–7.6 m) east of the road and on a different alignment.

Parallels for these structures, together with dating evidence, were found in the excavations of the 1930s, as described below.

1b. Second metalling of road, hearths and other features

The eastern edge of the second phase of the road seems reasonably clear from the section drawing in Trench II (Fig. 15), although there is a spread of stone to the east, possibly tumble from the road, or possibly a stony lens in the primary bank.

Also at the eastern end of this trench, Figure 18 shows features post-dating the drain. One post hole actually cuts the stone lining, and there is a further small post hole immediately to the east. Also to the east is an oval pit measuring 2 ft by 1 ft 6 in., containing ‘ash, filled with stones set vertically’. This could have been either a small hearth or a large post setting, the contents of which had been burnt. Stones at either side of the drain also showed signs of burning.

The section (Fig. 15) shows burning and occupation material spreading eastwards from the drain and apparently forming the upper fill of a cut feature immediately adjacent to the later town wall foundations. The cut has been identified as the foundation trench for the wall (Charlesworth 1971, 156), and this seems the most likely interpretation, although on Figure 18 the feature has been drawn as if it were simply a pit over which the wall foundation rides. In this account, the feature is assumed to be the wall construction trench, which may have been backfilled with redeposited pre-wall occupation material. An alternative explanation is that the western edge of the construction trench was cut through a layer of burnt material, some of which slumped over the lower fill of the trench.

To the west of the road there are three hearths. All are shown on the overall plan (Fig. 14), and the most easterly can be seen in the section (Fig. 15), where it is represented by a spread of burnt material. Of the other two, one is shown on the plan as a small arc of burnt material, the other apparently constructed of stone blocks.

These features at the western end of the trench have been included in this phase, but the possibility exists that they could have been contemporary with the primary defences,

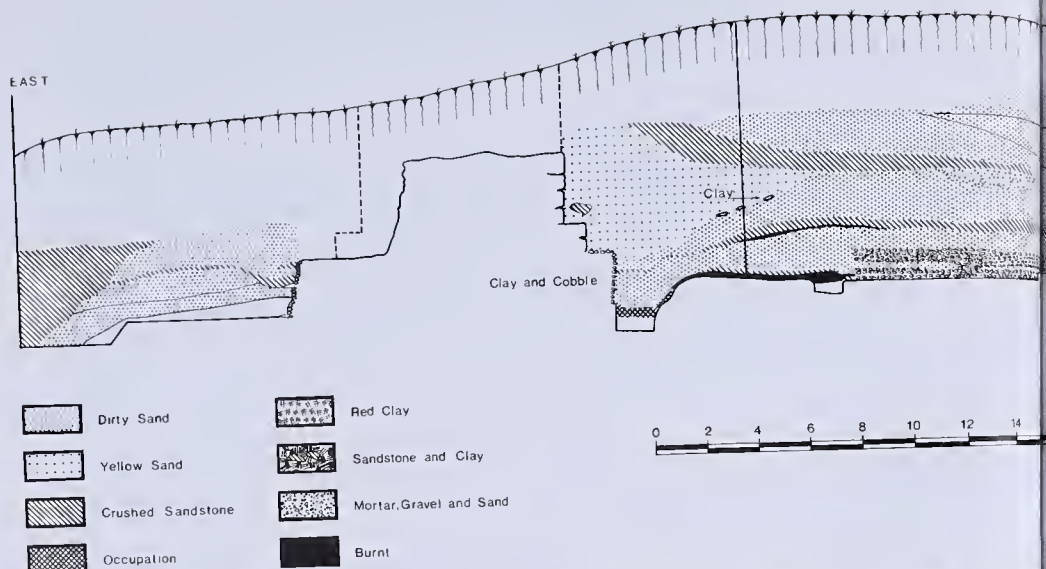


Fig. 15a. Trench II, 1965, section 1, north facing, through the eastern defences, showing the town wall, the defensive ditch, and the eastern defences. From Charlesworth 1971, fig. 21.

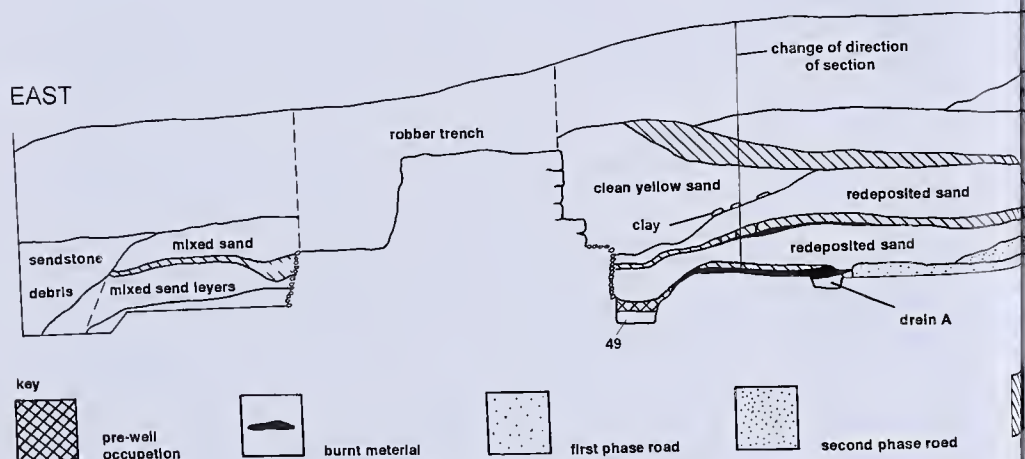
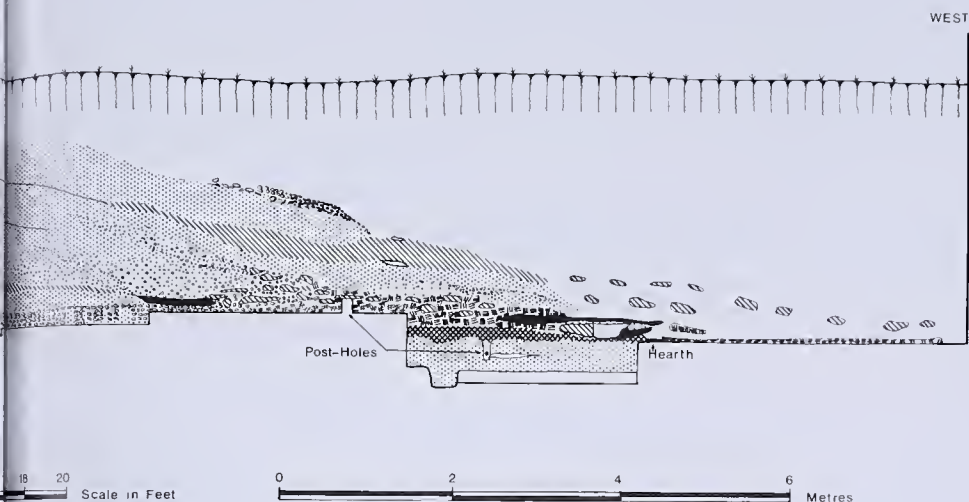
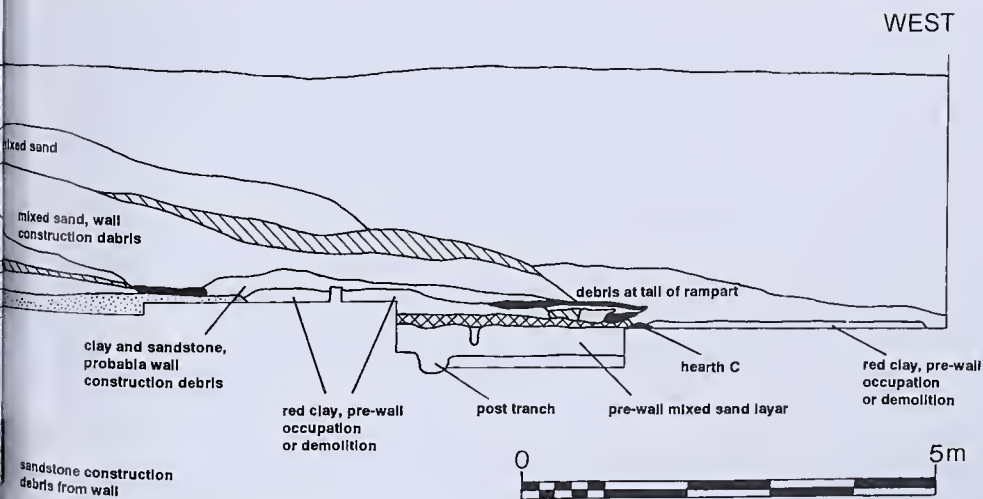


Fig. 15b. Simplified drawing of Section 1 through the eastern defences, showing the town wall, the defensive ditch, and the eastern defences. From Charlesworth 1971, fig. 21.



bank, part of the inner ditch and also features pre-dating the defences. Location of section shown on Figure 14.
 reduced here at scale 1:80.



indicating the principal structural phases and features. Scale 1:80.

the hearths being adjacent to the tail of the bank (see below). The section (Fig. 15) only provides evidence that the occupation pre-dates the secondary rampart. In the original summary all hearths and timber buildings are assumed to be earlier than the primary bank (Wilson 1966, 200), but in the later account at least one hearth and occupation layer are said to be 'contemporary with rather than earlier than' the primary bank (Charlesworth 1971, 158). This has important implications for the dating of the primary defences because of the pottery evidence from this occupation material, as discussed below.

On the section (Fig. 15) there are also two post holes at the western end of Trench II not shown on the plans. One cuts the sand layer overlying the most westerly beam slot, the other is more difficult to interpret. Two additional post holes are shown on the plan east of the road and close to the position of the later wall (Fig. 14); there is no indication of their phasing, but for simplicity they are included here with the other post holes.

In Trench I (Fig. 19) there is a post hole cutting one of the earlier beam slots; a large pit cannot be tied in to either phase.

1c. Demolition

The sandstone and clay layer overlying the most easterly of the hearths (Fig. 15) is probably demolition material. The 'red clay' seen to the west may be hearth debris or daub from demolished buildings. The demolition material found in the primary bank discussed below included pieces of daub with wattle marks (Charlesworth 1971, 158–59) indicating the demolition of timber structures. The crushed sandstone found in some parts of the rampart (*ibid.*, 156) was thought to represent the demolition of stone buildings in some parts of the town, although it seems more likely that they were layers of masons' chippings from the construction of the wall.

Dating evidence for early occupation

Evidence from previous excavations

In the 1938 excavation, Section I, cut through the defences to the east of the north gate, revealed a post trench of a timber building (Myres *et al.* 1959, 52–53; fig. 20, pl. IIIB), the northern end of which had been destroyed by the footings of the town wall. Evidence was found that the building had had wattle and daub walls covered with painted plaster. The building had been deliberately demolished, and was overlain by debris containing pottery, burnt wood and domestic refuse including bones and shells. Pottery evidence suggested that the building had been constructed in the AD 70s and may have continued in use until AD 130 (*ibid.*, 52–53, 68–72; fig. 22, nos 1–4; fig. 25, nos 22–42 and 45–49).

In the 1935 excavation a beam slot was found outside the north-west angle of the defences in Section V; this was dated by Flavian pottery (*ibid.*, 33, fig. 13). In Section III, a quarry pit for sand was revealed, at the bottom of which was a post hole with a beam slot running into it (*ibid.*, 18–19; fig. 6). In the fill of the post hole and on an associated floor was pottery dated to the late first century (*ibid.*, 35; fig. 7, nos 2, 7); overlying layers filling the quarry pit contained Hadrianic-Antonine pottery (*ibid.*, 18–19, 35, 37; fig. 7, fig. 8, no. 1).

Evidence from the 1965 excavation

There was little coarse pottery from the first timber phase, and nothing particularly distinctive, just cooking pots in grey fabrics (Fig. 28, no. 1) and a flagon body sherd. Pottery from the second timber phase (1b) included Aldborough kiln products of the first half of the second century, York red painted ware (Hadrianic-Antonine), and a BB1 plain rimmed dish (a type introduced in the mid-second century). Material that could not be

given a phase, but which belonged to the pre-defences period reinforces the mid-second century date; roughcast ware, barbotine decorated beakers, and hunt cups from Cologne dated to the mid-Antonine to late Antonine period (Fig. 28, no. 2). An example of Nene Valley colour coated ware (dated from *c.* AD 160 onwards) came from the layers on the berm and in the ditch, and may also belong to a pre-defences phase.

Also from the pre-defences contexts were several rim and flange fragments from Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria dated to AD 135–165, and one rim fragment dated AD 140–160 (not illustrated). The mortarium stamps included stamps of Sarrius (Fig. 27, no. 1 and no. 7, not illustrated), dated AD 135–165/170, and an unidentifiable stamp (no. 14, not illustrated) from a possible Mancetter-Hartshill vessel dated *c.* AD 130–160. See also nos 14 and 17.

There is one sherd of samian (no. 68, not illustrated) from the first timber phase, dated to *c.* AD 100–130, and one sherd (no. 79, not illustrated) from the second timber phase, dated to *c.* AD 120–200. The samian which could not be given a phase, but which belonged to the pre-defences period, showed a very clear and consistent pattern, dominated by sherds from Central Gaulish vessels largely of firm Hadrianic to early/mid-Antonine date. There were only four items that should date to after *c.* AD 150 (Fig. 25, no. 91, nos 41, 89 and 90, not illustrated), one of these, a stamped Dr 33, is likely to be dated to the late second century or later.

Dating evidence: summary

Occupation pre-dating the defences continued until the late second century, although there was generally only a small amount of material from the second half of the second century.

2. THE DEFENCES

Introduction

There are three useful sections through the primary defences. In Trench II, the north-facing section (Fig. 15) shows the inner lip of a ditch cut into natural subsoil, a berm 6 ft 6 in. (1.98 m) wide, the remains of the town wall on its cobble foundations, and a rampart extending back from the wall for nearly 44 ft (13.4 m), the tip lines in the latter indicating two major episodes of deposition. In Trench III, the north-facing section (Fig. 17) shows only the inner lip of the ditch, the berm and the outer edge of the wall. In Trench I, the south-facing section (Fig. 16) shows the surviving wall foundations, the inner ditch, a wide berm, and part of a wide outer ditch. The detailed observations recorded in cutting these sections are by no means easy to interpret.

In the 1930s, seven sections were cut through the Aldborough defences at widely spaced intervals around the circuit of *c.* 1.8 km. The evidence from the sections dug before 1965 indicates that the primary defences were built in stone. This is best seen in Section IV cut through the north-west corner in 1935 (Myres *et al.* 1959, 30, fig. 13), showing a clay bank clearly overlying construction debris of sandstone blocks, which had been stacked against the back of the town wall and over the wall foundations. Miss Charlesworth, however, believed that her excavations supported a contrary view, that the stone wall was preceded by an earthwork bank (Wilson 1966, 200; Charlesworth 1971, 156).

Phase 2 construction

The primary ditch

In 1965 it was found that the primary ditch was *c.* 20 ft (6 m) in width, and 6 ft (1.83 m)

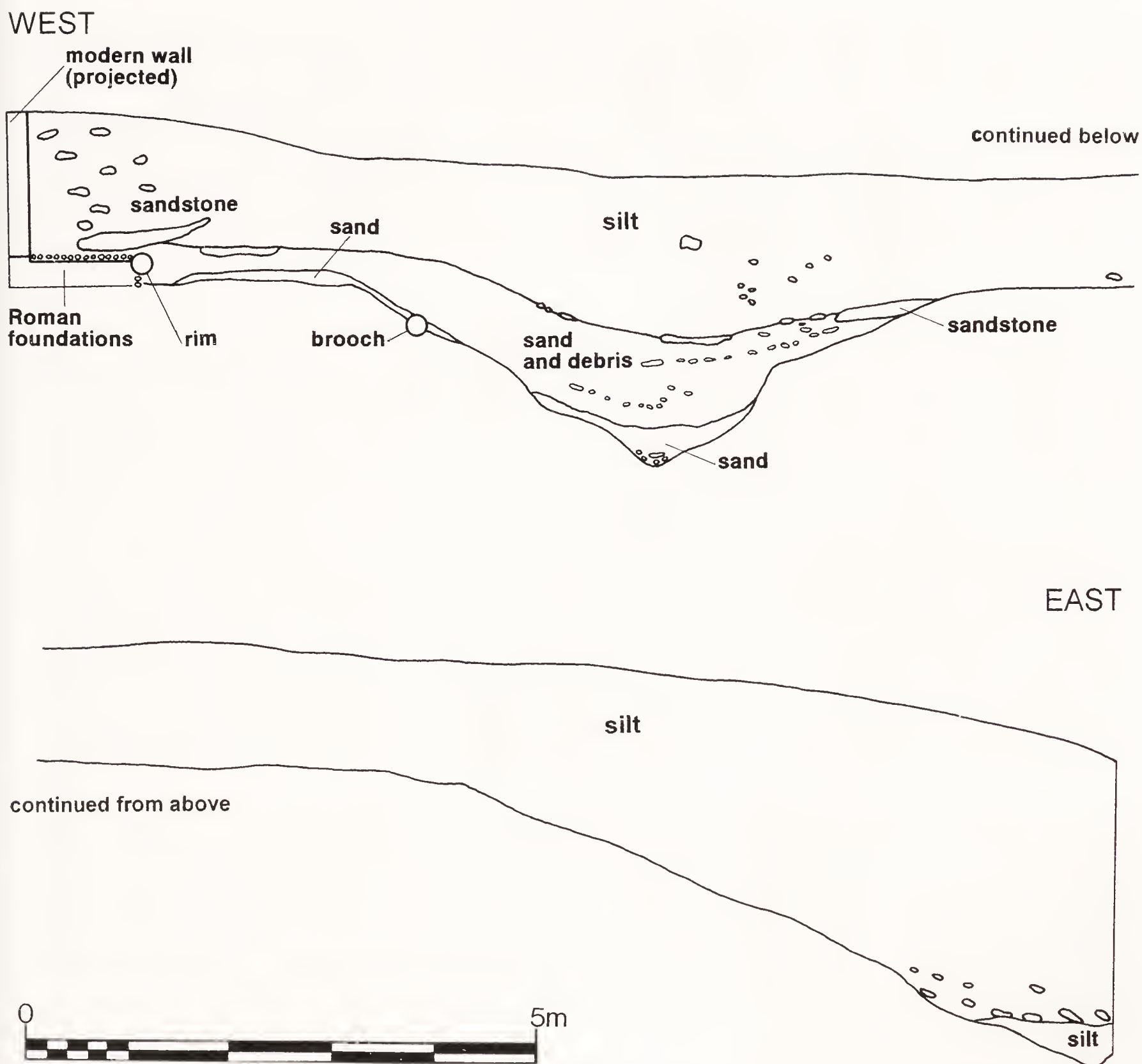
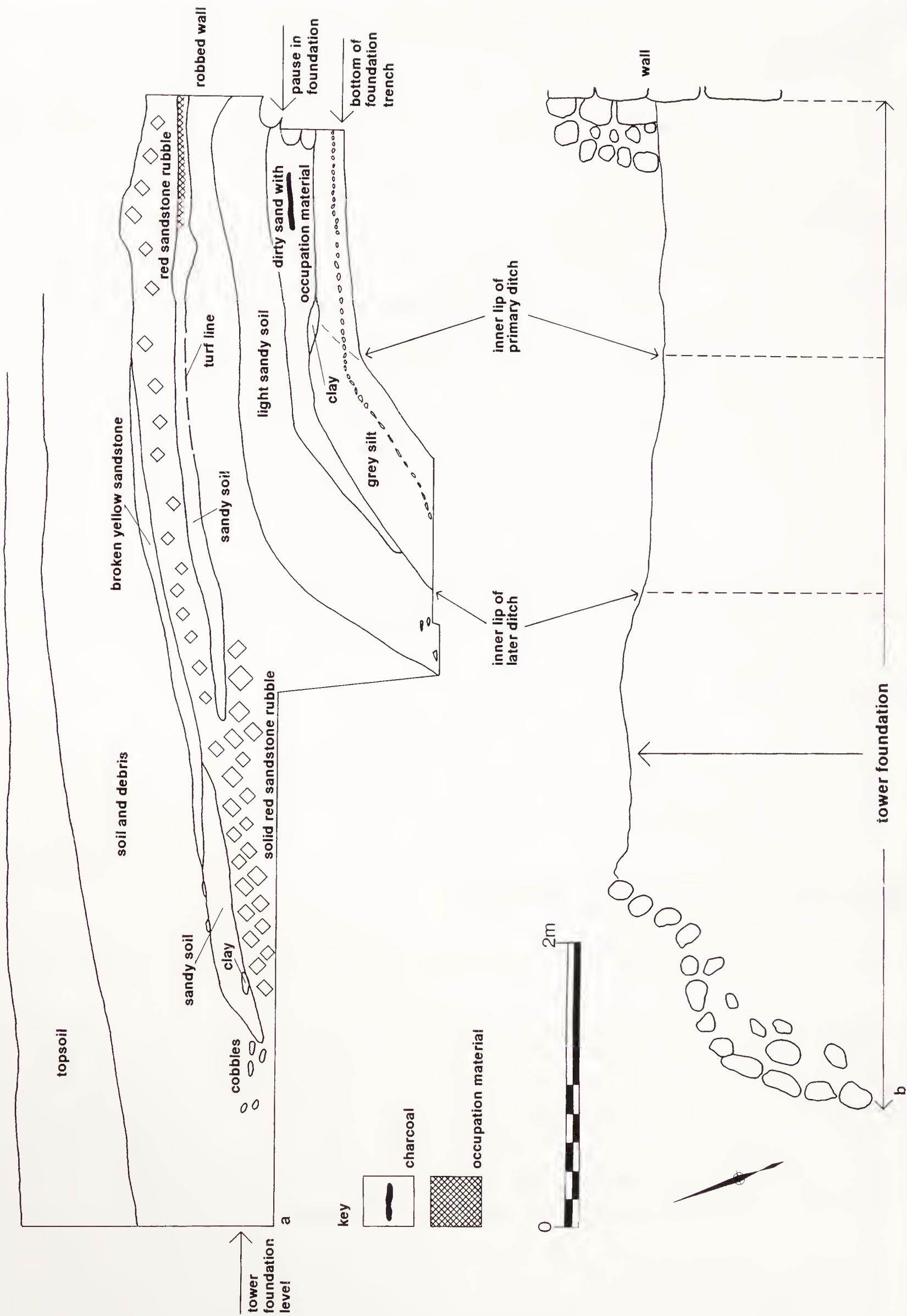


Fig. 16. Trench I, 1965, Section 2, south facing, through the eastern defences, showing the ditches and the foundations of the town wall. Location of section shown on Figure 14. Scale 1:80.

in depth, with a V-shaped profile, and there was a berm of 6–8 ft (*c.* 2–2.5 m) between the ditch and wall. This is shown in plan (Fig. 14) and sections (Figs 15, 16, 17).

Figure 15a clearly shows the construction level of the wall, indicated by a spread of sandstone debris overlying two layers of 'dirty' or mixed sand. It also appears to show the ditch cut from below the construction level of the wall, and partially filled by the mixed sand before the wall foundation trench was cut, implying earlier phases of defences preceding the wall. However, an alternative explanation can be offered.

In Trenches II and III, only a fraction of the ditch profile was excavated; the difficulty of distinguishing between layers of mixed sand with lenses of occupation material raises doubts about whether signs of slumping might not have been evident in such a small area. On Figure 15b a dashed line has been drawn through the mixed sand layers to indicate where the primary ditch cut might have been, the unstable sand then having slumped into the ditch. A similar situation may be postulated for Trench III (Fig. 17),



where a dashed line has also been added to the original drawing, through the layers of silt. This certainly must have been the case in Trench I, where the distinction between layers has not been discernible; Figure 16 appears to show the wall foundations cutting a completely filled ditch.

The mixed sands through which the defences were cut may be part of the deep layer of redeposited sand used to level up large areas of the site during the second century (Myres *et al.* 1959, 11; Dobinson 1988, 5, 19–21). It has already been shown that in some places this material was cut by the wall foundation (Myres *et al.* 1959, 30–34, fig. 13).

The foundations

The section in Trench II (Fig. 15) shows a clay-and-cobble foundation 13 ft (3.96 m) wide and 2 ft (0.61 m) deep. The eastern side of the foundation clearly abutted the cut, but at the western side there appears to have been a wider foundation trench. A parallel can be seen in Section I of the 1938 trench through the northern defences, where the foundations do not occupy the full width of the construction trench, which is filled with 'dirty sand' (Myres *et al.* 1959, fig. 20).

Unfortunately, there is some ambiguity in the record of the 1965 excavation. A plan of the area at an earlier stage of excavation (Fig. 18) shows the feature (context 49) as a pit rather than a construction trench; the site plan (Fig. 14) does not show this feature at all, but does show two presumably earlier post holes in the position where a wide construction trench might have been expected. It is possible therefore that the section drawing shows a pit belonging to the earlier phase of occupation rather than the wall foundation trench. The lack of clarity is unfortunate, as this relationship would have been helpful in demonstrating the relationship between the wall and the lower rampart layers.

Evidence of an interruption in the construction of the foundations can be seen in Trench III (Fig. 17). This shows a clay-and-cobble foundation 1 ft 6 in. (0.46 m) in depth, and an annotation indicates that a layer of mixed sandy material, 3 in. (76 mm) deep, was trodden into and over it (see also Wilson 1966, 200(b)). The interruption or delay in the work may have been caused by a decision to incorporate an offset into the construction, because above the layer of trampled sand was one more layer of cobbles, slightly inset, then the wall itself, also further inset.

Stone wall

Previous excavations have demonstrated that the town wall was faced with dressed red sandstone blocks and had a core of red sandstone rubble set in hard white mortar (Myres *et al.* 1959, 10).

In Trench II of the 1965 excavation, the west face of the wall survived for six courses, the lower two forming an offset and the total height being 4 ft (1.22 m); the eastern face had been robbed. As shown on Figure 15, the width was assumed to be 10 ft (3.05 m) at the base, narrowing to 8 ft (2.44 m) above the offset.

Rampart: Lower layers

The western half of the section seen in Trench II (Fig. 15) shows that the rampart was

Fig. 17a. Trench III, 1965, Section 3, north facing, through the eastern defences, showing the foundation trench of the town wall, part of the inner ditch and the foundations of an external tower. Location of section shown on Figure 14. Scale 1:50.

Fig. 17b. Plan of the extent of the external tower foundations. Scale 1:50.

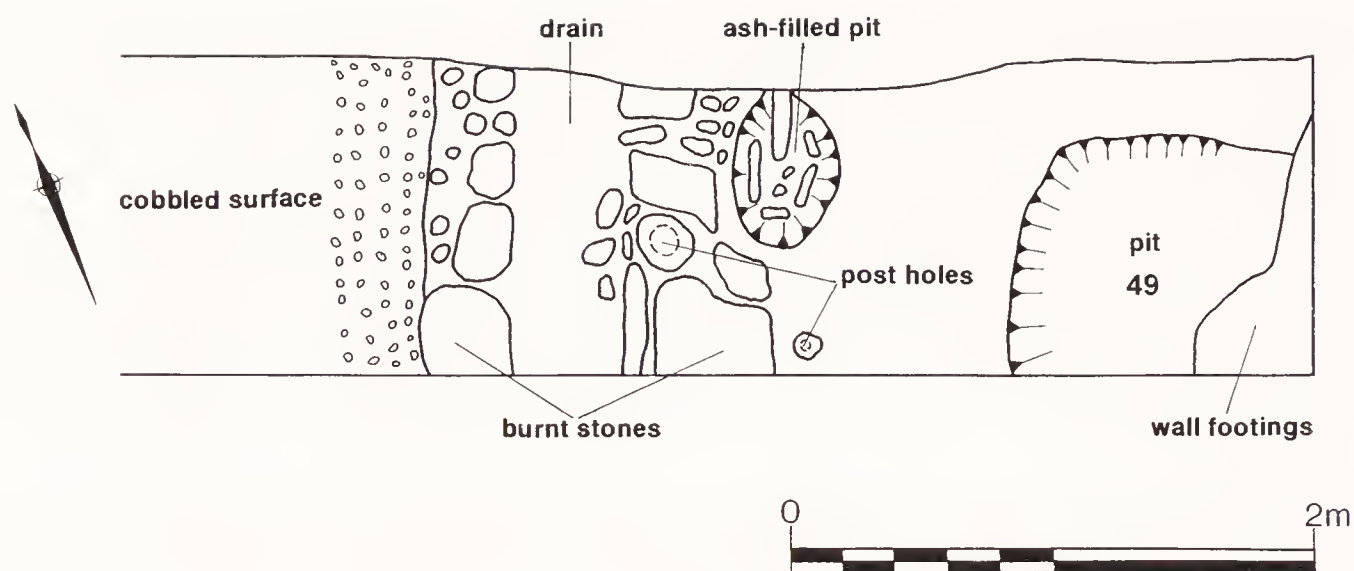


Fig. 18. Trench II, 1965, plan of features belonging to both phases of early occupation, immediately west of the position of the later town wall. Location shown on Figure 14. Scale 1:50.

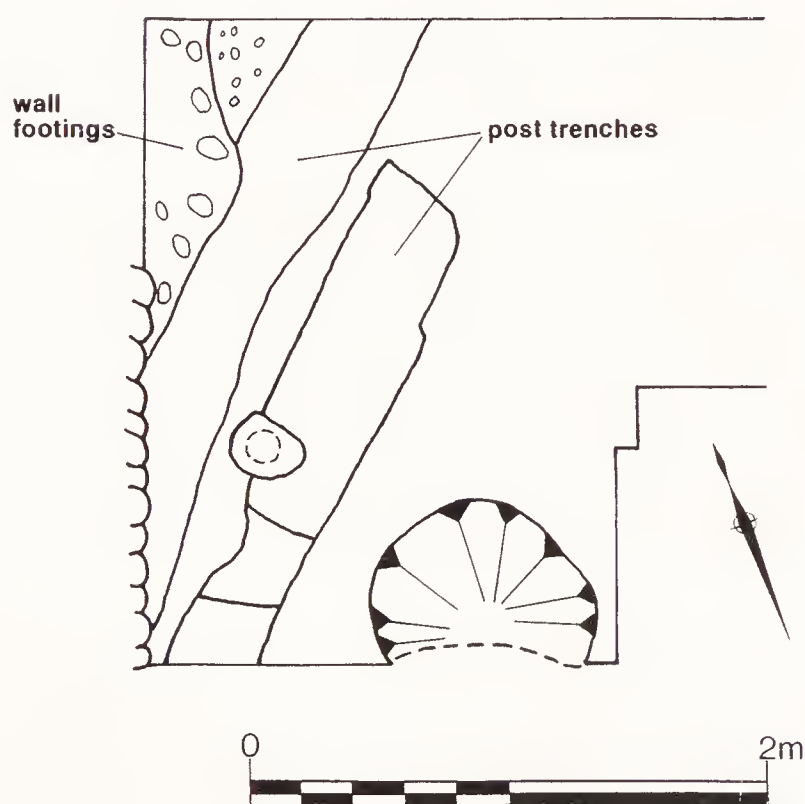


Fig. 19. Trench I, 1965, plan of features belonging to both phases of early occupation, immediately east of the position of the later town wall. Location shown on Figure 14. Scale 1:50.

certainly deposited in several stages. The lowest component, resting on the remains of the early occupation layers, was a mound, a maximum 3 ft 9 in. (1.14 m) in depth, composed mainly of redeposited sand, in two layers, separated by a band of crushed sandstone, a maximum of 6 in. (0.15 m) in depth. More significantly, there was also a layer of crushed sandstone immediately overlying the occupation material and underlying the bank. Within the sand were lenses of demolition material and domestic refuse (*ibid.*, 156, 158–59).

Miss Charlesworth interpreted this mound as a primary free-standing earthwork defence for two reasons: that it was centred behind the wall rather than piled up against it, and that resting on the front edge were patches of grey clay identical with that from the wall foundation, apparently indicating that the wall had been added later.

Two important objections to this are that such a mound would be much too low to have provided an independent defensive work, and that sections cut in previous excavations in fact emphasise the absence of a bank preceding the stone defences (see above). Also it must be doubted whether the patches of clay resting on the top of the mound are significant, as they are so small.

However, the possibility remains that this low mound represents the upcast from digging the ditch, or wall foundation trench, subsequently incorporated into the rampart. The fact that it appears from the section drawing to overlie the foundation trench may be explained by the suggestion that the soft sand had slumped forward (Charlesworth

1971, 156); in addition, there may be some ambiguity, as described above, about whether this cut does represent the construction trench. Some support for the suggestion of an upcast mound comes from Section II cut through the south-eastern defences in 1937 (Myres *et al.* 1959, 47, figs 15, 18). It was noted that the rampart 'showed two distinct tip layers of which the lower, composed mainly of the brash that locally overlies the solid rock, is most easily explained as upcast from an external ditch accompanying the town wall'. Interestingly, the section shows the lower layer overlying a wide foundation trench in exactly the same way as the lower layers in the 1965 excavation. Elsewhere, however, the upcast mound abuts the back of the wall.

Completed rampart

Figure 15 shows that by the time the wall had been built to a height of *c.* 2 ft 9 in. (0.84 m) or higher, the ground behind was levelled up with clean yellow sand. Stages in the construction of the wall are marked by the deposition of a spread of mortar and gravel on the tail of the upcast mound, and a deep band of sandstone debris which overlay both the mortar and the yellow sand levelling layer.

Above that were more tip layers of redeposited sand, interleaved with more layers of mortar and crushed sandstone, extending for a distance of nearly 44 ft (13.4 m) from the face of the wall. The site plan (Fig. 14) shows the 'secondary bank' extending only 36 ft (*c.* 10 m) back from the wall face; this distance coincides with the end of the highest tip layer of sand shown in section.

Possible evidence of delay between the two stages of construction of the rampart can be seen in the south-facing section of Trench II, also drawn in 1965 but not published here because it was unfinished. Like Figure 15 it shows the lower part of the rampart as a mound composed of two layers, separated by sandstone debris; on the top of these layers, and extending for most of the tail of the bank is a turf line. A parallel may be provided by the trench cut through the western defences by Dymond in 1960 (Charlesworth 1971, 156, fig. 22). The lower levels of the rampart are composed of loam and a layer of 'dirty red sand', overlying the wall foundations; on top of the sand is a turf line. The upper part of the rampart is a clay and sand mixture.

In the absence of any scientific testing of the turf from either section it is possible that the turf is not *in situ*. In 1935 a section cut through the north-western defences revealed that a quarry pit pre-dating the defences had been filled with a mixture of sand and turf. The same materials may have been used in the construction of the rampart.

On most previous occasions where sections were cut it was found that the most commonly used material for heightening the rampart was clay. This was found in four sections in the north-west (Myres *et al.* 1959, 15; 21, fig. 6; 30, 32, fig. 13). A sand and clay mixture was found in the south-east corner (*ibid.*, 47, fig. 18) and in the excavation of the western defences in 1960 by Dymond (Charlesworth 1971, fig. 22).

The section cut through the north-eastern defences in 1938 differed from the others in that a rampart composed entirely of sand with some tip layers of refuse was piled up directly on the demolition debris of earlier buildings, with no trace of an upcast mound or 'primary bank' (Myres *et al.* 1959, 50, fig. 20).

Dating evidence for the defences: 1965 excavations

The coarse pottery from the rampart generally has nothing in it any later in date than the pre-defences contexts; BB1 flat rimmed dishes and a plain rimmed dish with intersecting arc decoration, Cologne ware, BB1 imitations and York red painted ware (Fig. 28, no. 5).

A flanged bowl rim (not illustrated), dating from the third quarter of the third century

at the earliest, comes from an unspecified layer in the bank, so unfortunately it is not possible to show that it comes from primary layers rather than later dump layers. A Nene Valley funnel neck beaker (not illustrated) of the mid-third to late third century, comes from the level of the wall foundations in Trench 1 (see annotation 'rim' on Fig. 16), although the section drawing shows that this feature is confused and its exact phase cannot be demonstrated clearly.

The evidence of the samian accords with that of the coarse pottery; there is generally nothing that is later in date than the pre-defences contexts. The latest sherd is a Dr 31 base (no. 24, not illustrated), which should date to after *c.* AD 150, and probably belongs to the third quarter of the second century. Two decorated bowls (no. 27, not illustrated and Fig. 24, no. 30) should date no later than *c.* AD 170.

However, the most important point highlighted in the discussion following the samian catalogue is that there is an absence from the primary defences (and the pre-defences contexts) of otherwise familiar later Antonine forms.

The mortaria from the rampart bank are also of the same date range as the mortaria from the pre-defences contexts, and include a stamp of Sarrius (no. 4, not illustrated), dated AD 135–165/170.

Dating evidence for the defences: previous excavations

The dating evidence from previous excavations is summarised by Myres *et al.* (1959, 10–11), and the following more detailed summary can be produced:

Terminus post quem for the defences, given by the demolition of structures in the timber phase

Pottery from the fill of the 'sandpit': (Myres *et al.* 1959, 18–23) includes reeded rimmed bowls, rusticated ware and Dr 27s, and all could easily be first century in date.

Pottery from pre-wall levels includes material of the first half of the second century: a BB1 flat rimmed dish and a flanged mortarium (Myres *et al.* 1959, fig. 7, nos 8, 11), a stamped mortarium of Viator (AD 100–140; *ibid.*, fig. 25, no. 45), a BB1 cooking pot with acute angle lattice, North French coarse ware and York red painted ware (*ibid.*, fig. 25, nos 28–29, 32, 35, 45) as well as decorated samian dated *c.* AD 125–30 (*ibid.*, fig. 22, no. 4).

Construction of the defences

The complete pot from the masons' chippings underlying the south-east angle tower was dated by J. P. Gillam to AD 150–200 (*ibid.*, 45, fig. 24, no. 1).

Pottery from the rampart bank included a sherd of samian by Cinnamus (AD 150–180) and other samian of Antonine date (*ibid.*, 23).

Pottery from the primary road (VI) at the north gate includes a sherd of Dr 37, dated AD 130–40 (*ibid.*, 73, no. 11, fig. 22, no. 1). There is also an unworn coin of Hadrian (*ibid.*, 58, no. 1). This road was sealed by a later road (VIII), which incorporated a slightly worn coin of Antoninus Pius (*ibid.*, 60, no. 2); resting on the surface of this later road was a coin of Severus Alexander (222–35) in mint condition (*ibid.*, 60, no. 3).

During excavations of the northern defences in 1938, a coin was found 'embedded in the footings at the back of the [town] wall' (Myres *et al.* 1959, 50). It was a plated *denarius*, suggested to be of Julia Domna, but so corroded that it was stated the identification could not be given with certainty (*ibid.*, 60, no. 4). Myres *et al.* set out evidence that the defences were built in the second half of the second century, and were of the opinion that the coin with its uncertain identification should not be allowed to override the rest of the evidence (*ibid.*, 11, note 1).

In her discussion of the defences, Miss Charlesworth notes that Dr J. P. C. Kent re-

examined the coin, agreed that it could be of Julia Domna and was confident that it was no earlier (Charlesworth 1971, 163, note 20). The date of the majority of counterfeit issues of Severan *denarii* is now thought to be in the period *c.* AD 238–49 (Boon 1988).

Pottery from the lean-to against the back wall of the south-east angle tower includes Antonine samian as well as BB1 plain rimmed dishes of the mid-second century or later (*ibid.*, fig. 24, nos 9, 12). The latest pottery is a Nene Valley beaker dated after *c.* AD 160 (*ibid.*, fig. 24, no. 15). Glass from this feature was dated to the second or third centuries (*ibid.*, 75).

Terminus ante quem for completion of the defences, given by dumping on the rampart

The rubbish deposits over the rampart consist of second- and third-century material, including a hammerhead mortarium, and a Yorkshire grey ware bottle (*ibid.*, fig. 10, nos 10, 20). The Dales ware type rim could be late third or fourth century in date (*ibid.*, fig. 10, no. 16), but the deposit definitely continued into the fourth century since double lid-seated jars were also recovered (*ibid.*, fig. 10, nos 2–4, 6).

Dating evidence: summary

The broad date range for the construction of the primary defences, suggested as the second half of the second century (Charlesworth 1971, 159), can now be further refined. The weight of evidence points to a mid-Antonine *terminus post quem*. However, for reasons discussed below, the actual construction could have taken place at a much later date. It is in this context that the stratified coin, now more certainly identified with Julia Domna, assumes great importance. In previous publications the lack of supporting evidence for a third-century construction date has been noted (Myres *et al.* 1959, 11, note 1; Charlesworth 1971, 160–62). The only possible supporting evidence that can be cited here is that of the flanged bowl rim and the Nene Valley funnel neck beaker found in the 1965 excavations (see above); it is unfortunate that neither comes from a context which can be clearly proved to be primary.

The defences of Aldborough: their first phase

The excavations of 1934–38 had seemed to establish that at Aldborough the earth bank, stone wall and presumably the gates were all built at the same time. However, Miss Charlesworth concluded from her excavations that the bank was earlier than the wall and represented an independent phase of the defences. Aldborough would thus have been conformable with the majority of the other *civitas* capitals in Britain. Less than two years before the 1965 excavations, at a conference in Leicester, Wachter had itemised twelve or possibly thirteen *civitas* capitals or major towns which had been provided with earthwork defences in the second century (Wachter 1966). But, as has been explained above, it is clear from most of the sections through the defences that the interpretation proposed following the 1934–38 excavations is still tenable, even though Aldborough now appears to stand alone amongst the *civitas* capitals in Britain in being provided from the very first with defences in stone during the second century. At one time it seemed that the same had happened at Exeter (Bidwell 1980, 60–62): the small size of the earth bank which preceded construction of the stone wall, its height varying from 0.7 m to 1.6 m, suggested that it represented nothing more than spoil from digging the foundation trench of the wall and perhaps the defensive ditches beyond. Following the discovery of a timber gate beneath the later stone gate, it now appears that this feeble bank was indeed a first and independent phase of the defences, possibly unfinished (Frere 1990, 348–50).

It has been argued that the earthwork defences of towns in Roman Britain were

provided in the mid-Antonine period (Hartley 1983). That date relies principally on the samian ware from the original earth banks which enclosed the towns and from occupation levels sealed by the defences. The normal *terminus* for their construction ranges from *c.* AD 140 to *c.* AD 160; late-Antonine samian ware is always absent (Hartley 1983). Almost all the stratified finds from Aldborough fit this pattern: neither the 1934–38 excavations (Myres *et al.* 1959, 10) nor those of Miss Charlesworth produced anything from the first phase of the defences or from underlying occupation levels necessarily later than *c.* AD 150, apart from a third-century coin from the footings of the wall (p. 58) and one sherd of stamped samian ware of late second- or early third-century date from context 62, described as a ‘dirty sand layer’ through which the wall foundations were dug (Fig. 25, no. 91).

It must not be forgotten that the dating evidence from the defences can only supply a *terminus post quem* for their construction. There will be a tendency for the date of the defences to be pushed later when further excavations increase the size of the sample of finds. This occurred at Silchester which Hartley (1983, 57, 91) included amongst earth-work defences built in *c.* AD 140–160; finds from later excavations have advanced the *terminus* to *c.* AD 180 (Fulford 1984, 235). At Aldborough, as at other towns, many of the relevant finds are from levels preceding the defences; finds from the rampart will often have been part of the occupation material scraped up from nearby. There can be no certainty that occupation on the line of the defences always continued up to the time of their construction. Town defences in Britain were usually built on a generous scale, enclosing areas free of buildings (cf. Frere 1987, 240). At Aldborough there was nothing to show that buildings had been demolished to make way for the defences; those found beneath the rampart might have been abandoned some decades earlier.

Thus, although the bulk of the stratified finds indicate a *terminus post quem* of *c.* AD 150 for the construction of the defences at Aldborough, it would be cavalier to dismiss the two later finds as contamination. They could be taken to indicate that work on the defences started in the late second or early third century and continued down to the AD 240s.

Aldborough’s stone defences, although apparently unique amongst the *civitas* capitals, find parallels in a group of smaller towns in the East Midlands. Towcester, Alchester, Irchester, Chesterton and perhaps *Bannaventa* were all provided with stone walls and banks in *c.* AD 170 (Woodfield 1995). The stone defences of London seem securely dated to the period AD 190–220 (Milne 1995, 77). Beyond Britain at least half a dozen towns behind the *limes* between the Rhine and Main and in south-western Germany were provided with stone walls and banks in the late second or early third century. The places in question, all *civitas* capitals, are Bad Wimpfen, Ladenburg and Rottenburg in Baden-Württemberg (Filtzinger *et al.* 1986, 219–20, 386, 513), and Dieburg, Hedderheim and Wiesbaden in Hesse (Batz and Herrmann 1989, 252, 289–91, 370). In the adjacent province of Raetia the only town to be provided with defences in the early third century was Faimingen (Czysz *et al.* 1995, 211–12).

The stone defences at Aldborough might thus find broadly contemporary parallels elsewhere in the province and in other north-western provinces of the Roman empire. Because of the uncertainty about the exact date of the defences at Aldborough, it would be fruitless to speculate about their historical context. The various possibilities are well-travelled ground (*e.g.* Frere 1987, 240–41; Wachter 1995, 74–75).

Phase 2 occupation: layers on the berm and in the ditch

Above the occupation material on the berm in Trench III was a layer of mixed sandy soil (Fig. 17), slightly lighter in colour and a maximum of 1 ft 6 in. (0.46 m) in depth,

which had accumulated against the wall. It overlay the offset wall foundation and can be seen tipping steeply into the ditch. A layer of 'dirty sand' of the same depth was found on the berm in Trench II, but not spilling into the ditch (Fig. 15). These layers may represent refuse thrown from the town wall into the ditch.

In Section II cut in 1934 it was found that 'on the berm outside the wall . . . and piled against the wall to a depth of 15 inches (0.38 m) above the offset course was an untouched deposit of burnt material, black earth and charcoal . . .' (*ibid.*, 17). The only dating evidence offered for this was 'the rim of a pink hammer-headed mortarium', which was not illustrated.

3. LATEST PHASE OF THE DEFENCES: EXTERNAL TOWER AND OUTER DITCH

Phase 3 construction

External tower

Trench III at the northern end of the excavation produced evidence of a tower which had projected 23 ft (7 m) out from the wall across the line of the primary ditch. Figure 17 shows that the partially-silted ditch was deliberately filled with a mass of 'solid red sandstone rubble' to support the weight of the building. No trace of the superstructure remained, although the clay and cobbles seen in plan and section overlying the eastern edge of the rubble would seem to be part of the foundations.

The crushed sandstone seen in section in Trench II filling the inner ditch (Fig. 15) may be debris from the construction of the tower, or from its eventual demolition (see below). It was not found in Trench I (Fig. 16), *c.* 40 m south of the tower, where the fill of the inner ditch was silt. In the section cut through the northern defences in 1938, a layer of red sandstone debris slumping over the partially filled ditch was interpreted as debris from a late repair of the wall (Myres *et al.* 1959, 53, fig. 20).

Previous excavation showed that these towers were a late addition to the defences. This dating evidence is summarised below. The evidence is that they were not built of red sandstone like the walls, but of millstone grit, limestone and yellow sandstone (*ibid.*, 7, 25, 29–30, 32, 34, 46; Jones 1971, 48).

Outer ditch

As the primary ditch was deliberately filled in in places for the towers, it is thought that the outer ditch was dug at this time (Charlesworth 1971, 162; Myres *et al.* 1959, 12).

The outer ditch was only explored in Trench I (although an annotation on the field plan for Trench III (Fig. 17) suggests that part of the inner lip of the outer ditch was located there). The section in Trench I (Fig. 16) shows that the distance from the outer edge of the wall foundation to the inner lip of the outer ditch is 48 ft (14.63 m), leaving a berm of 19 ft (5.79 m) between the two ditches. The outer ditch was very broad, the distance from the inner lip to the centre being 25 ft (7.62 m), and it had a shallow profile.

An outer ditch which seems to correspond with this was excavated outside the southern defences in 1964 (Fig. 2). It also had a very shallow profile and was *c.* 45 ft (13.72 m) wide, and the stratigraphy indicated it was of fourth-century date (Jones 1971, 40–41). Its position in the defensive layout was similar to that of the ditch found in 1965, being *c.* 40 ft (12.19 m) from the town wall, with a berm of *c.* 18 ft (5.49 m) between it and the primary inner ditch. The outer ditch was also located in 1938 outside the northern defences (Myres *et al.* 1959, 55, fig. 20); only the inner edge was excavated; it also appeared to have a shallow profile, but was *c.* 66 ft (20.12 m) from the face of the wall, with a berm of *c.* 33 ft (10 m) between it and the primary inner ditch. In both the 1964

and the 1938 excavations the layout was complicated by the presence of other ditches or complex underlying geological features.

Dating evidence from previous excavations for the construction of the external towers

In Section III cut through the north-eastern defences in 1935 it was found that the ditch had been filled with refuse before the construction of a tower (Myres *et al.* 1959, 27, fig. 6). The lower fill of the ditch contained, amongst other pottery, grey ware imitations of BB1 and a hammerhead mortarium, possibly of the late third century (*ibid.*, 27–29). The upper deposit had grey ware imitations of indented funnel neck beakers dated to the mid-third century or later, a flanged bowl and Dales ware type of the late third or fourth century (*ibid.*, fig. 12, nos 2, 8).

The pottery from the upper layer may have been mixed with the occupation material above (*ibid.*, 29–30), which was ‘less certainly sealed than the material under the footings’, since the upper layer of burnt material under the bastion is described as ‘shading off into the occupation level at the time of building the bastion’ (*ibid.*, 36). This might explain the fourth-century material such as the double-lid seated jar (*ibid.*, fig. 11, no. 25), and the possible Crambeck painted parchment ware bowl (*ibid.*, fig. 11, no. 8). The painted mortarium (*ibid.*, fig. 12, no. 1) was found right under the footings on the inner side of the ditch and may be Mancetter-Hartshill rather than Crambeck. (Illustrated pottery: Fig. 32, nos 60–62.)

The only pottery in the gravel core of the wall of the south-east tower consisted of a Dales ware or Dales ware type rim, of late third or fourth century date (*ibid.* fig. 24, no. 21).

Two flanged bowls from the foundation trench for the north-west tower give a date of not earlier than the third quarter of the third century (*ibid.*, 32, fig. 14).

Dating evidence: summary

There is a *terminus post quem* of the third quarter of the third century for the filling of the ditch and the construction of the towers.

Phase 3 occupation

The section drawing from Trench I (Fig. 16) shows the outer ditch fills to be of silt, with only a few tumbled stones at a lower level.

Dating evidence for phase 3 occupation

The outer ditch contained East Yorkshire grey wares, including a flanged bowl of the late third or fourth century (Fig. 28, no. 13) and a fourth-century double lid-seated jar (Fig. 28, no 11).

Phase 3 demolition

The results of previous excavations suggested that the external towers were systematically demolished while the walls were still standing; at the south-east corner, five blocks of millstone grit, presumably derived from the demolished tower, were reused in a late repair of the wall (Myres *et al.* 1959, 25, 32, 47, Charlesworth 1971, 162).

The section in Trench III in 1965 (Fig. 17) shows the tower foundation partly overlain by sandy soil containing occupation material. The layers above that appear to be tumble consisting mainly of red sandstone rubble and a thinner band of broken yellow sandstone, possibly stone-robbing debris. A deep deposit of soil and debris lay between this and the topsoil. The red sandstone rubble must have been derived from the wall, and there is a notable absence of millstone grit and limestone, two of the stone types used in the towers. The third stone type found in the towers, yellow sandstone, is present only as a relatively

thin band. Unless the tower had been very comprehensively robbed, this might provide evidence that it may never have been constructed to its full height.

Dating evidence for the latest occupation at Aldborough

Myres *et al.* (1959, 12) point out that a fifth of the coin collection was later than AD 367.

Rubbish layer outside the town wall

The occupation layer over the infilled ditch has no examples of its pottery illustrated, but does include at least five flanged bowls and five Dales ware type rims of the late third or fourth centuries (*ibid.*, 30).

The layer of rubbish over the ditch has third-century material, such as a (probable) BB1 cooking pot with obtuse angle lattice, a hammerhead mortarium, and a Crambeck bowl of late third-century or fourth-century date (*ibid.*, 53). The fragments of 'painted face-urns' could possibly be of Crambeck painted parchment ware, currently dated to AD 350+, although there is some evidence that the painted face pots are earlier than the other painted vessel forms.

Road through the north gate

The lower level of road IX had pottery of mid-second to late second century or later in date, such as Nene Valley ware and a folded beaker, but is dated by a rim of Dales ware or Dales ware type, which is third or fourth century in date (*ibid.*, 58). The upper layer contained Crambeck ware of the late third or fourth century, but also five Huntcliff type rims of AD 340+ (*ibid.*, 58).

Dating evidence: summary

Unstratified pottery dated to after AD 350 (see p. 104) and the coins dated to post AD 367 show that occupation lasted until at least the second half of the fourth century.

Small finds

Only three finds can be associated with these excavations. They are a coarse ware counter and a coarse ware disc (contexts 43 and 56; Bishop 1996, 44, no. 259; 103, no. 704) and a samian disc (unstratified; *ibid.*, 104, no. 711). The brooch shown in section 2 of Trench II (Fig. 16) cannot now be identified.

EVIDENCE FROM RESISTIVITY SURVEY OF POSSIBLE POST-ROMAN ACTIVITY

A resistivity survey was carried out in 1965 by Mr A. Aspinall, then of the Bradford Institute of Technology. The survey area was 70 ft (21.33 m) wide, and covered a 90 ft (27.43 m) length of the defensive wall, berm and inner ditch between the southern edge of Trench II and the northern edge of Trench I. The report of the results is given in the appendix, but two important points are mentioned here.

The inner ditch is clearly shown on Figure 20b of the survey, running north/south, and its width conforms to that shown on plan and section. However, the survey shows another linear feature, running east/west through the line of the defences, and apparently similar to the inner ditch. It is centred 22 ft (6.71 m) south of Trench II, 52 ft (15.85 m) south of the southern edge of the external tower. This seems to imply a break in the town wall and a feature such as a ditch or deep culvert running out to the east, probably a post-Roman feature.

APPENDIX: RESULTS OF RESISTIVITY SURVEY

By A. Aspinall

An electrical resistance survey was carried out on the site using a 'NORMA Erdmessung' resistance meter and the 'broadside' method. It was known that archaeological features occurred to a depth of some ten feet, and therefore preliminary strip surveys (Fig. 20a, A, B & C) were conducted with the electric current probes spaced at 17 ft (5.18 m) and potential difference probes at 15 ft (4.57 m). In this way a resistance sample, roughly hemispherical and of diameter 17 ft (5.18 m) was taken at each observation station. The stations were spaced at 4 ft (1.22 m) intervals for Strip A and in order to examine the effect of station separation, at 2 ft (0.61 m) intervals for B and C.

Although survey B indicated clearly the presence of high resistance substrate in the estimated region of the wall, the existence of a crest between two ditches was not obvious. Examination of the nature of the southern excavation trench indicated that the resistivity technique might not be sufficiently sensitive to determine differences in substrate structure between the outer ditch and the crest, whereas the inner ditch showed decided structure change. Strip C tended to confirm the observations made on strip B. It is worth noting that an extension of strips B and C in an easterly direction (not illustrated) showed a doubly peaked region of markedly high resistance, up to 230 ohm in magnitude, at between 150 and 190 ft (45.72 and 57.91 m) from the origin point. A superficial excavation indicated that this high resistance was possibly due to surface shales. Such features would evidently distort the meaningful results of a resistive survey.

Survey strip A was notable for its lack of features. This was surprising in view of the presence of the northern trench containing obvious wall features.

It was decided, therefore, to carry out an area survey of the region between the northern and southern trenches. The current probes were adjusted to a spacing of 10 ft (3.05 m) with a p.d. probe spacing of 8 ft (2.44 m). In a given strip, stations were separated by 4 ft (1.22 m) while adjacent strip centres were spaced 10 ft (3.05 m) apart. The reduction in detail obtained from strip to strip was tolerated in order to conduct the survey as rapidly as possible.

The results of the area survey are shown as a map of equi-resistance contours in Figure 20b. The presence of a wall edge or berm is clearly shown as a rapid fall of resistance to a relatively low uniform value of approximately 100 ohm in the centre of the survey. However, it is interesting to observe that this rapid change swings east/west some 40 ft (12.19 m) south of the northern trench, and is only taken up again in the near vicinity of that trench. The change of direction gives rise to a prominent east/west resistance 'valley' comparable with that lying north/south and attributed to the inner ditch.

Preliminary survey A evidently coincided with this valley, and was thus featureless. The area survey also confirms the relative insensitivity of the resistivity technique in ascertaining the presence of a crest between the inner and outer ditches. A shallow plateau exists in the south-east corner of the survey, but appears very localised, and indeed shows increasing resistance values as the outer ditch is approached. Further north the resistance valley continues unbroken eastward to the boundary of the survey.

EXCAVATION OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN DEFENCES IN 1967

A long sector of the south-western defences had been excavated by the mid-nineteenth century. On Smith's plan (1852, pl. III) there are some strange discrepancies: the front walls are missing from two of the towers and the rear wall missing from a third. Only small portions of the remains were visible in 1967, when an attempt was made to re-examine some features. A summary account was published (Wilson 1968, 180), and the

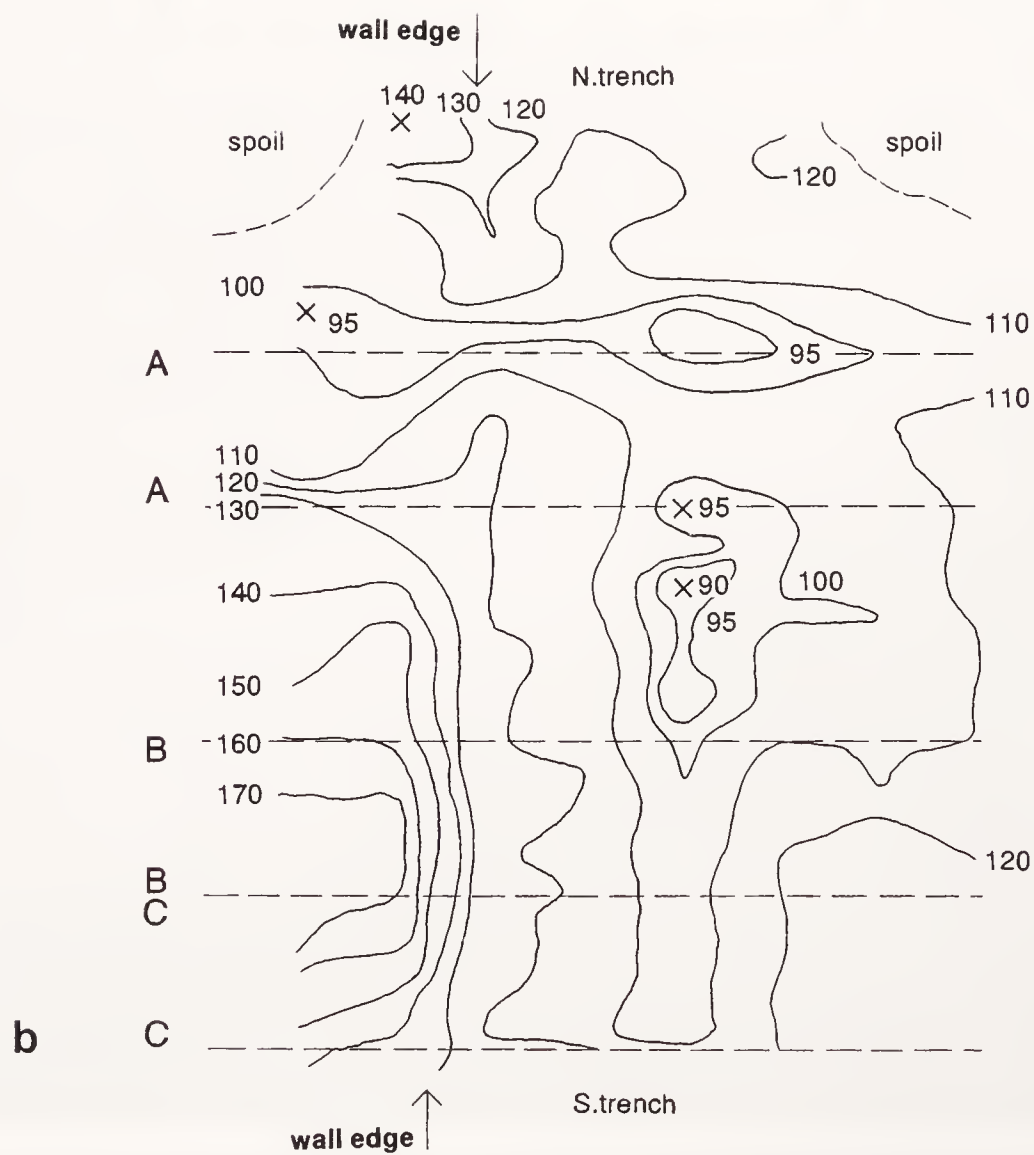
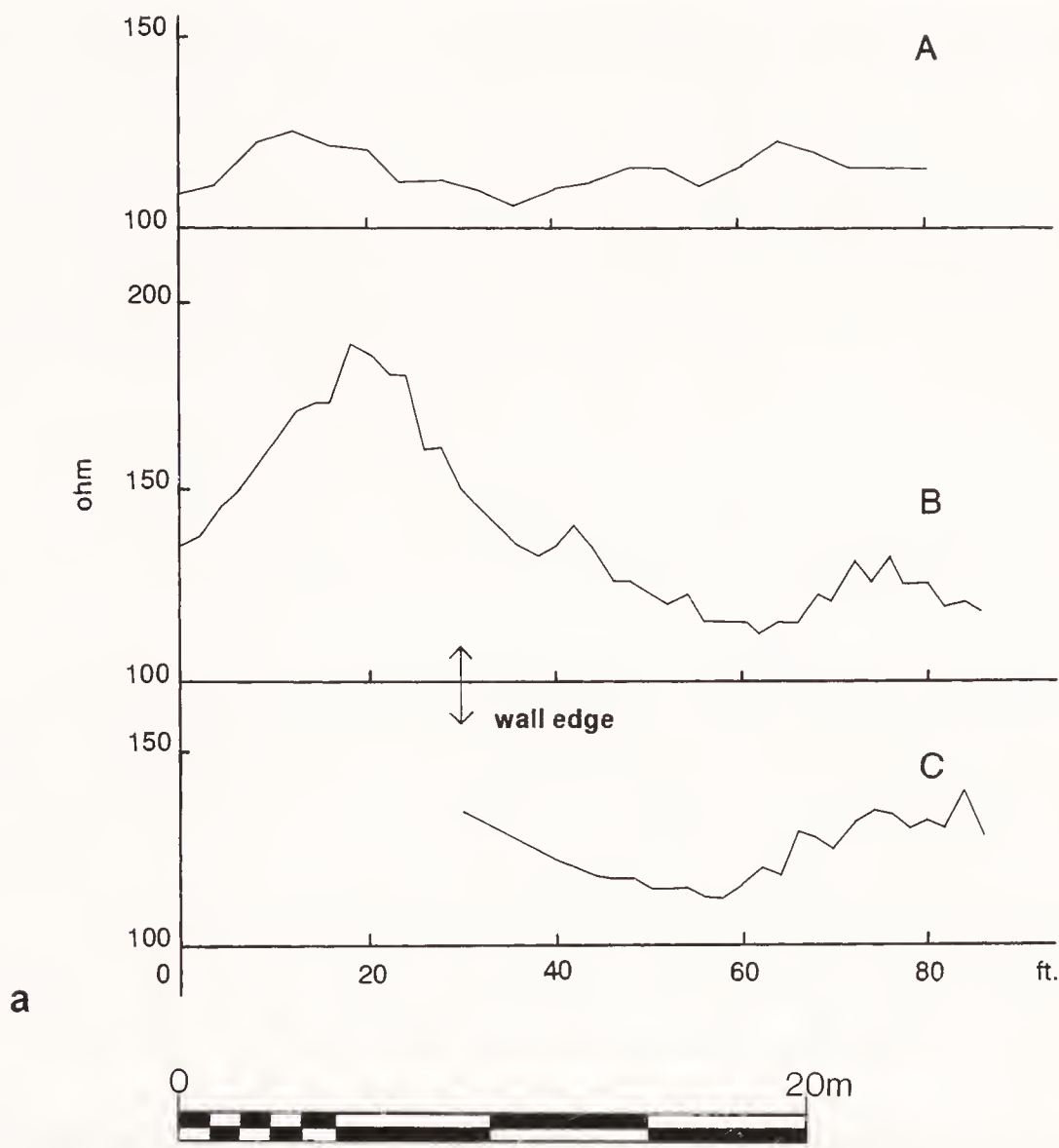


Fig. 20. Results of resistivity survey at the eastern defences.

subsequent paper on the defences (Charlesworth 1971, 160) described the results in more detail. The town wall in that part of the defences had proved to be almost entirely nineteenth-century restoration, and relationships between the wall and internal towers had been destroyed. The rampart had been cut back to expose the masonry. There are no plans or sections relating to this work, but a photograph is reproduced as Figure 21.

The only visible remains in the south-west corner were the rear wall of the internal tower, and portions of its side walls. The angle tower was not examined on this occasion, because 'its condition gave no hope of new evidence'. However, it was excavated in 1973 (see below).

Finds

There is no record of any pottery or small finds from the 1967 excavation.

Human remains

Human remains found during this work comprised the almost complete skeleton of a male in his early to mid-forties (accession number 861749) and a single ulna from a second adult of unknown sex and age (accession number 866846). The remains are reported on below by Joy Langston, who notes that the well-preserved condition of the single ulna indicates that other remains of this individual would have been expected nearby, since it is highly unlikely that this would be the only bone to survive burial. It is likely that burials clustered around the wall footings in this area were disturbed by the nineteenth-century excavations. Smith recorded 'several skeletons' here (1852, 21).

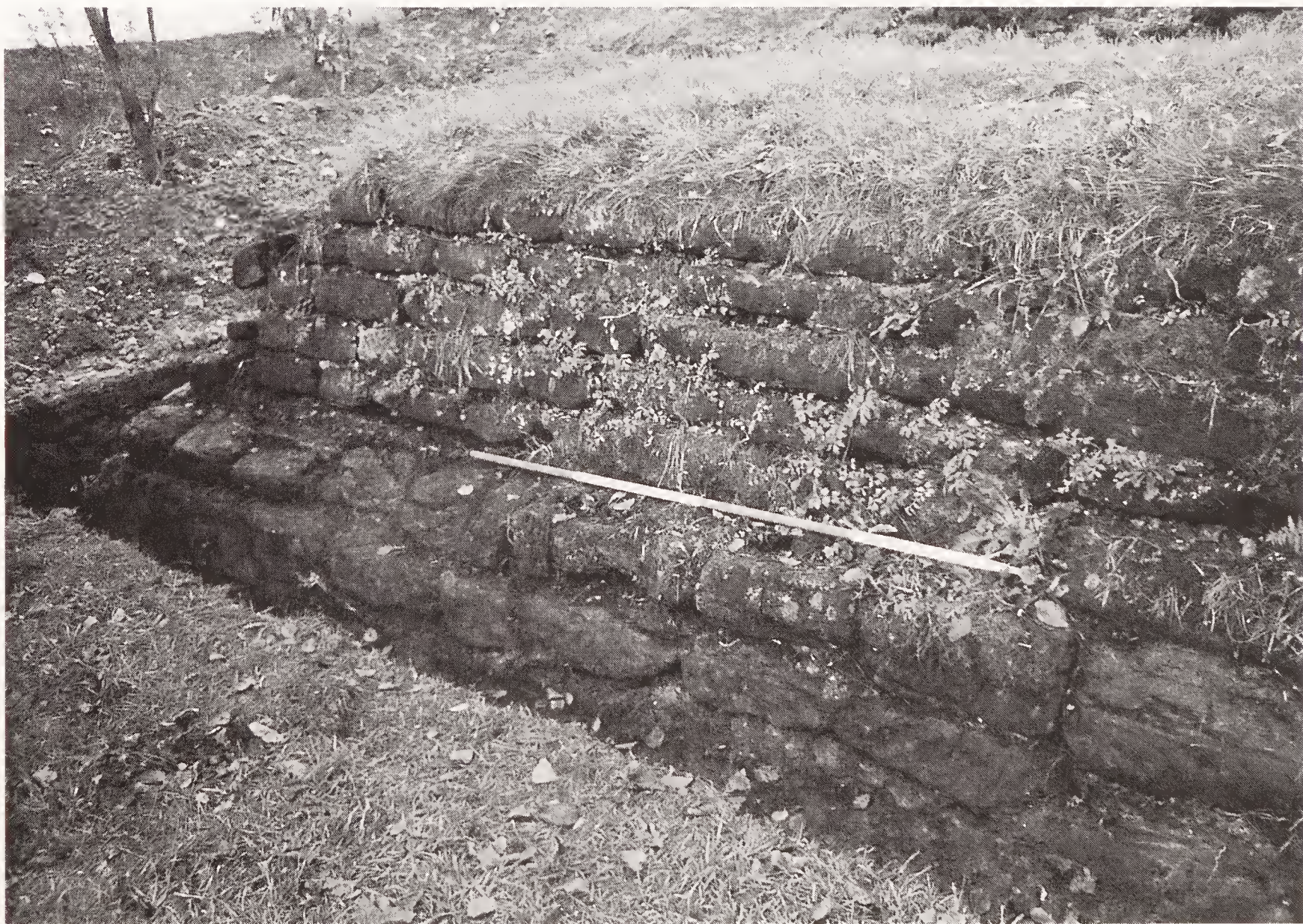


Fig. 21. The north face of a surviving sector of the south-western town wall during investigation in 1967.

Samples of the bone recovered in 1967 were submitted for radiocarbon dating at the Oxford Accelerator Unit, but unfortunately the remains proved unsuitable for dating.

EXCAVATION AT THE SOUTH-WEST ANGLE IN 1973

Although there was no hope of recovering evidence on the relationship between the tower and the town wall, the aim of the 1973 excavation was to locate the external tower at the south-west corner. Unfortunately the area available for excavation was limited because of the presence of a path and trees, and trenching could not extend far enough to reach the position where a projecting tower might be expected (see Fig. 2). However, the excavation was useful in recovering other information about the location and state of preservation of the town wall foundations, and indicating the character and extent of previous robbing.

The plan of the 1973 excavation (Fig. 22) shows the extent of the work, which uncovered clay and cobble foundations on both sides of the tower, interpreted in the excavation summary as the foundations of the town wall (Thorp 1974, 143). This summary, like the one in *Britannia* (Wilson 1974, 416), referred to two periods of foundation, but it is more likely that these were simply two courses of cobbles. Excavation of the northern defences in 1938 revealed foundations 7 ft (2.13 m) deep, '... of river cobbles set in stiff blue clay ... carefully graded so that the smaller cobbles were uppermost' (Myres *et al.* 1959, 50, fig. 20).

The section drawn in 1973 (Fig. 23) shows the surviving width of foundation as 4.35 m (14 ft 3 in.); this is similar to the width which has been found at other points on the defensive circuit. Sections dug at the north-western corner in 1935 and beside the north gate in 1938 revealed foundations varying in width from 13 ft (3.96 m) to 14 ft 6 in. (4.42 m) (*ibid.*, figs. 3, 6, 13 and 20).

The width of foundation found in Trench II of Miss Charlesworth's excavation a little south of the east gate in 1965 was also 13 ft (3.96 m). A short stretch of wall to the south of the west gate was excavated in 1794, and the foundations were said to be 15 ft (4.57 m) wide (Smith 1852, 14).

The only exception to this was found in 1937 at the south-east corner when two sections were cut, one through the angle tower itself. At both points the width of the town wall foundation was only 10 ft (3.05 m) (Myres *et al.* 1959, figs. 15, 16). In this area the alluvial sand found elsewhere was absent, and bedrock, covered by a thin layer of gravel, was close to the surface, making heavy foundations unnecessary (*ibid.*, 41).

It is perhaps also useful to clarify one other point about the width of the defences. H. Ecroyd Smith, referring to the town wall nearing the south-east corner, said '... but the vast strength of the ancient structure, even in this its ruin, cannot but excite the interest of all, for it will, on examination, prove to measure *sixteen feet* ...' (1852, 23). This was explained in the excavations of 1937, which showed a late rebuild of the wall, 16–17 ft (4.88–5.18 m) wide, for a length of 50 ft (15.24 m) in this area (Myres *et al.* 1959, 47–49, fig. 18).

Pottery

The pottery from 1973 is generally second and third century in date. None is illustrated.

Some pottery is dated 1974. Presumably either the excavation carried on into the beginning of that year, or possibly the pottery was recovered during consolidation work following excavation. It includes East Yorkshire grey ware of the late third or fourth century and a Huntcliff type rim of the mid-fourth century or later. None is illustrated.

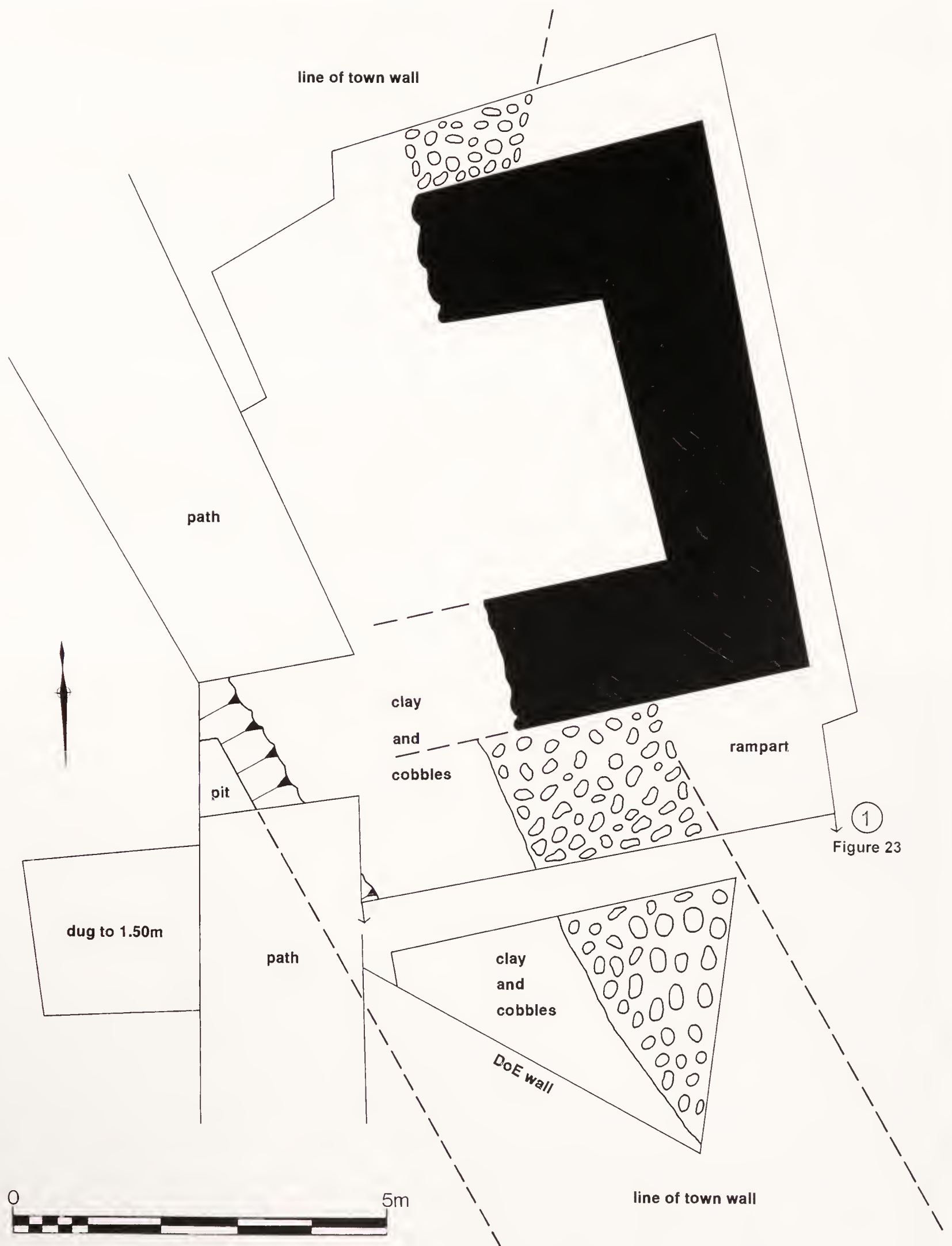


Fig. 22. Excavation trenches of 1973 at the south-west angle tower. Scale 1:50.

Small finds

The small finds are an iron nail (context 2; Bishop 1996, 86, no. 538) and possibly also a copper alloy ring (context 1; *ibid.*, fig. 26, no. 283; see *ibid.*, p. 113, no. 283 for 1973 excavation context number, A73/1).

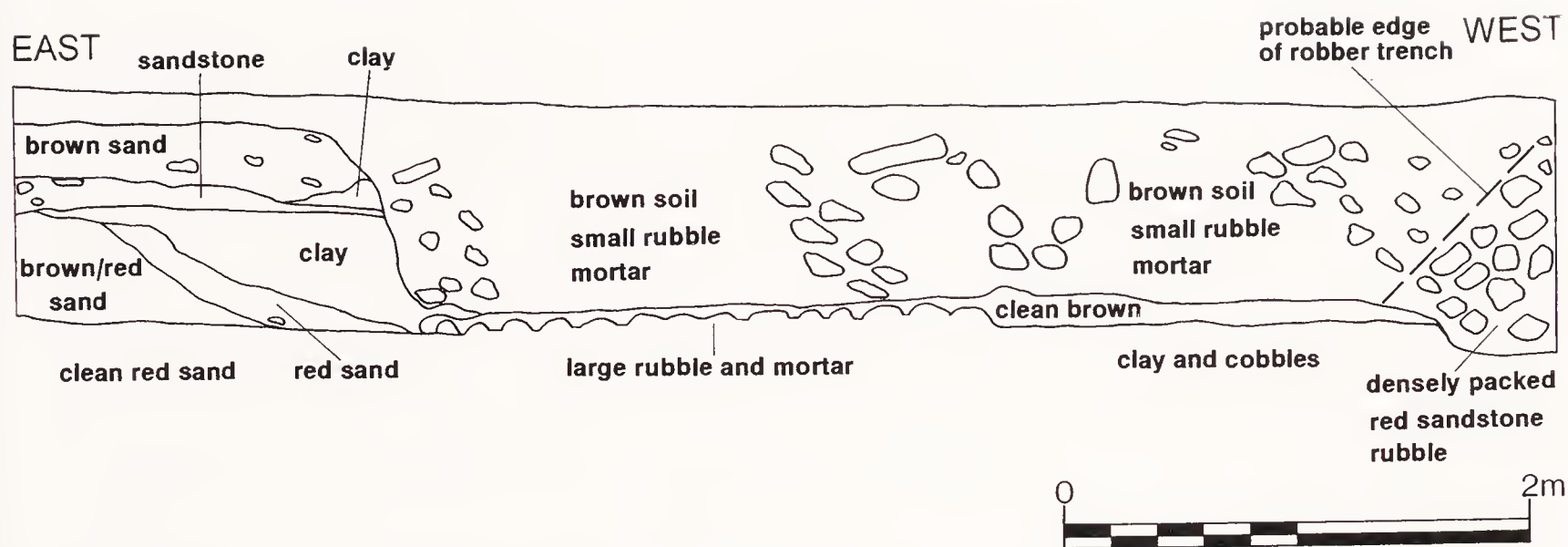


Fig. 23. Section 1, north facing, across the line of the town wall in 1973. Location of section shown on Figure 22. Scale 1:50.

THE SAMIAN

By S. Willis (*with contributions by B. Dickinson*)

Introduction

The samian assemblages studied from Miss Charlesworth's excavations in 1961 and 1965 amount to fifty-four and 226 sherds respectively. The surviving collections provide information on the chronology of the two site sequences. In addition, they are of importance in so far as they may be compared with groups of this pottery from other work at Aldborough and in the wider region, in order to help characterise the early development and nature of the Roman town.

It seems likely that the assemblages have been subject to a limited degree of sorting (i.e. 'weeding') at some stage between excavation and their examination by the present author. This is apparent from the comparative rarity of body sherds and of the less diagnostic (often small) fragments that are typically present amongst excavated assemblages; in this case a proportion of these pieces have evidently been discarded. Fortunately all rims, bases, decorated pieces and items of intrinsic interest appear to have been retained. This means that the surviving material should constitute a dependable guide to the date and character of the samian present in the excavated deposits. Additionally the Rim Equivalent (RE) measurements will provide a reliable means for any quantitative analysis.

As it was not considered feasible to catalogue and report upon the samian assemblages in their entirety, the project design identified a number of early groups from both sites which were considered key in addressing priority questions relating to the dating of the stone building encountered in 1961 and the establishment of the primary defences in the 1965 area. This samian consisted of twenty-six sherds (from approximately twenty-one vessels) from 1961 and ninety-one sherds (*c.* sixty-five vessels) from 1965. The identified sherds from both sites are predominantly Flavian to early Antonine, with a few East Gaulish pieces present.

An unusually large proportion of the sherds can be assigned to dated types (partly for the reason outlined above). The sherds are generally in a remarkably good state of preservation with limited weathering or abrasion; soil conditions have maintained original high gloss finishes which are dulled by most soil environments. A catalogue is presented below, followed by a discussion.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue lists (a) all the samian sherds from contexts regarded as significant for establishing the date of the construction of the stone building investigated during the 1961 season, and (b) all the samian from contexts considered significant for determining the date of the construction of the town defences, where the latter were examined in 1965. A necessary proviso when evaluating these lists is the fact that the assemblages, as extant in 1999 (the time of writing), are marginally incomplete (cf. above).

The catalogue adheres to a consistent format. The 1961 sherds are listed followed by those from 1965, and sherds are listed in context number order (except in the case of the 1965 material where the groups from contexts 12 and 19 are prioritised given their stratigraphic importance). The following data are then given: the number of sherds and their type (i.e. whether a sherd is from the rim, base (footring) or body of a vessel), the source of the item (South Gaulish is abbreviated to SG, Central Gaulish to CG and East Gaulish to EG), the vessel form (where identifiable), the percentage of any extant rim (i.e. the RE figure, where 1.00 would represent a complete circumference), a measured estimate of the rim diameter, the weight of the sherd/s, and an estimate of the date of the sherd in terms of calendar years (this being the date range of deposits with which like pieces are normally associated). The decoration is then described. Oswald's figure types (Oswald 1936–37) are referred to following the standard convention, for example O.1926a would be his type 1926a. Similarly the decorative details catalogued by Rogers (Rogers 1974) are simply referred to as, for example, Rogers B105, without quoting the bibliographic reference on every occasion. Other information of significance, such as cross-joins, burning and evidence of repair, is also noted. The English Heritage accession number is noted in brackets at the end of each entry.

1961 excavations

Context 3 (Pre-dating the stone building)

1. Base, CG Les Martres, Dr 33, 38g, c. AD 100–130. A stamp occurs but is very poorly impressed and in consequence completely illegible (81418019).
2. *B. Dickinson writes:* Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 33 or Walters 80 stamped [AT·TI]LLIM, c. AD 160–190. Attilus v of Lezoux, Die 2a (Nash-Williams 1930, fig. 1, 8). This stamp occurs on the plain samian forms Dr 31, 31R, 33 and 80. It also appears as a mould-stamp on a decorated bowl in the Yorkshire Museum, York (Stanfield and Simpson 1958, pl. 96, there assigned to [Cara]tillus). The decoration of this bowl and the stamp's use on forms Dr 31R and Walters 80 suggests activity in the later second century (81418019). (Fig. 25)

Context 12 (Pre-dating the stone building)

3. Body, SG La Graufesenque, form not identifiable, 2g, c. AD 40–100 (81418063).
4. Two conjoining rim sherds, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 18, RE:0.08 D: 160 mm, 19g, c. AD 70–100 (81418063).
5. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, probably Dr 18, RE:c.0.02 D:uncertain, 2g, c. AD 70–100 (81418063).
6. Body, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 18, 7g, c. AD 70–100. From different vessel to the above items (81418063).
7. Body, SG La Graufesenque, probably Dr 18, 3g, c. AD 70–100. From a different vessel. Part of a drilled hole is represented, suggesting that the vessel was prepared for repair via riveting (81418063).
8. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:0.06 D:110 mm, 3g, c. AD 70–100 (81418063).
9. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:0.07 D:110 mm, 1g, c. AD 70–100. From different vessel to the other 27s from this context (81418063).

10. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:0.09 D: 110 mm, 5g, *c.* AD 70–100. From different vessel to the other 27s from this context (81418063).
11. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:0.07 D:110 mm, 6g, *c.* AD 70–100. From different vessel to the other 27s from this context (81418063).
12. Two conjoining rim sherds, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE: 0.08 D:130 mm, 6g, *c.* AD 70–100. From different vessel to the other 27s from this context (81418063).
13. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 37, RE:0.02 D:*c.* 220 mm, 37g, *c.* AD 85–110. Part of the ovolo band and an area of poorly impressed decoration are represented. The ovolo and three-pronged tongue motif is typical of the Flavian period; the upper frieze is a continuous scroll with rosette and lanceolate bud terminals (*cf.* Hermet 1934, pl. 37, no. 18, for a similar scroll, and pl. 12, no. 44 for the bud); the lower frieze is panelled with rosettes masking border junctions; the lion is O.1397 (81418063). (Fig. 24)
14. Rim, CG Les Martres, Dr 18/31, RE:0.06 D:160 mm, 12g, *c.* AD 100–125 (81418063).
15. Base, CG Les Martres, Dr 18/31, 43g, *c.* AD 100–125 (81418063).

Context 27 (Redeposited sand layer)

16. Two rim sherds and a body sherd all conjoining, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:0.14 D:120 mm, 6g, *c.* AD 55–80. The high gloss slip finish is of outstanding quality (88074830).
17. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:0.07 D:130 mm, 3g, *c.* AD 70–100. Burnt (88074830).
18. Body, SG La Graufesenque, from a bowl, 2g, *c.* AD 70–100 (88074830).

Context 59 (Possibly from the floor of the stone building)

19. Base, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, 24g, *c.* AD 40–80. From a different vessel from the high gloss 27 in context 27, though again the high gloss slip finish is of outstanding quality (88074830).
20. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, RE:*c.*0.02 D:uncertain, 2g, *c.* AD 60–80. High gloss slip; from a different vessel from the base sherd in this context and the items in context 27 (88074830).
21. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 18, RE:0.05 D:160 mm, 2g, *c.* AD 70–100 (81418063).
22. Body, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 37, 2g, *c.* AD 80–110. The tiny area of extant decoration includes no diagnostic details, though the tip of a palm is present which may come from a Victory figure such as O.821 (81418063).

1965 excavations

Context 12 (From within the rampart of the primary defences)

23. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 35, RE:0.17 D:100 mm, 5g, *c.* AD 70–100. Burnt (81418057).
24. Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 31, 38g, *c.* AD 150–200 (probably *c.* AD 150–175). Slightly burnt. This sherd has seemingly been trimmed at the junction of the wall and the vessel floor, and since it represents an exact quarter of the base of the vessel, may have been intentionally broken up (81418057).

Context 19 (From within the rampart of the primary defences)

25. Body, CG Lezoux, small Dr 37, 20g, *c.* AD 120–150. Conjoins sherd from (1965) context 51. This sherd, together with the fragment from 19, comes from a bowl in the style of Avitus and Vegetus. As is often the case with vessels attributable to these workshops the details are somewhat blurred. The ovolo is Stanfield and Simpson's Avitus and Vegetus ovolo no. 1 (1958, 133), with a rounded double border and a thin tongue ending in a swelling to the left; below is a characteristic wavy line border while the design is an eclectic ensemble, with the panther O.1508 and the small bird O.2263B present. Also occurring are three details which are typical of Avitus and Vegetus bowls, namely the trifid leaf motif Rogers G96, the bifid leafy ornament Rogers G282 and the simple astragalus (Stanfield and Simpson 1958, fig. 14, nos 1, 3 and 18 respectively), with the latter used here as a junction mask (88074914). (Fig. 24)
26. Rim, CG Lezoux, probably Dr 18/31R, RE:*c.*0.04 D:uncertain, 7g, *c.* AD 120–150. (81418054).

27. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 5g, *c.* AD 120–170. A small area of fine decoration occurs on this unattributable fragment; evidently the decoration was in a panel arrangement as there is a vertical fine bead border, which divides a medallion in the form of a plain thin ring (no interior decoration is extant), from a leafy motif (81418054).
28. Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 33, 30g, *c.* AD 120–200 (81418054).
29. Rim, CG Lezoux, from a bead rimmed bowl or dish, RE:c.o.03 D:uncertain, 2g, *c.* AD 120–200 (81418054).
30. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 5g, *c.* AD 135–170. A section of the ovolo band is represented with a fine bead border below. The ovolo appears to be Rogers B143, a type employed by Cinnamus ii and by a number of other samian producers (cf. Stanfield and Simpson 1958, 265, fig. 47, No. 3); this item could well be a Cinnamus ii product (81418054). (Fig. 24)

Unless otherwise stated the following context groups from 1965 belong to the pre-defences occupation, though it is not known which of the two phases each group belongs to, nor the precise nature of the context.

Context 1

31. Rim, CG Les Martres, Dr 18/31, RE:o.13 D: 160 mm, 14g, *c.* AD 100–125 (81418057).
32. Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 18/31, 20g, *c.* AD 120–140 (81418055).
33. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 33, RE:o.11 D:110 mm, 7g, *c.* AD 120–140/150 (81418057).
34. Rim and conjoining body sherd, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, RE:c.o.04 D:uncertain, 21g, *c.* AD 120–150. Of the decoration, only a part of an ovolo and part of a tongue are represented; evidently the ovolo was large and double bordered (81418055, 81418057).
35. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 18/31, RE:o.07 D:210 mm, 7g, *c.* AD 120–150 (81418055).
36. Body, CG Lezoux, Curle 11, 4g, *c.* AD 120–150 (81418057).
37. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 2g, *c.* AD 120–200 (81418057).
38. Body, CG Lezoux, from a bowl, 3g, *c.* AD 120–200 (81418057).
39. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 7g, *c.* AD 135–175. The small area of decoration includes the lower part of the widely employed male figure O.688 set within beaded borders with ring terminals, with a long astragalus filling the space below the figure that is not readily paralleled in Rogers. Stanfield and Simpson illustrate a Cinnamus ii bowl with a parallel design (1958, pl. 161, no. 50). The extant details are not diagnostic (88074914). (Fig. 24)
40. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 13g, *c.* AD 140–175. The sherd is from a panelled bowl of Cinnamus ii. The bold ovolo represented is Rogers B145 (Stanfield and Simpson's Cinnamus ii ovolo no. 4 (1958, 265)). The bead borders are fine and separate a panel containing a ring and perhaps a medallion from one containing the Pan/Osiris figure O.711/711A (88074914). (Fig. 24)
41. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, RE:o.09 D:180 mm, 28g, *c.* AD 150/160–200. Part of the ovolo band is represented, together with a fine bead border and a vestige of the design. All details are blurred, but the ovolo resembles that of Caletus and Severus (Stanfield and Simpson 1958, fig. 37, no. 2, pl. 128). If the vessel is indeed their work then a date after AD 160 is probable, but in any case it is unlikely to be any earlier in date than *c.* AD 150 (81418059).

Context 14

42. Body, CG Lezoux, from a bowl or dish, 5g, *c.* AD 120–200. Burnt (81418057).

Context 29

43. Body, SG La Graufesenque, form not identifiable, 1g, *c.* AD 70–100 (81418057).
44. A rim sherd and a body sherd from the same vessel, CG Lezoux, Dr 27, RE:o.12 D:120 mm, 12g, *c.* AD 120–150 (81418057).
45. Body, CG Lezoux, small Dr 37, 12g, *c.* AD 120–150. A small section of the ovolo band is present but is damaged and indistinct. There is a fine wavy line border below, while the design includes the gladiators O.1004A and O.1027; the former, which is a rare figure type, is poorly defined and intrudes over the border (88074914). (Fig. 24)
46. Body, CG Lezoux, Ritt. 13, 4g, *c.* AD 120–200 (81418057).

47. Body, CG Lezoux, from a thin-walled decorated form, 2g, *c.* AD 120–200. A tiny vestige of decoration is present, possibly from a medallion motif (81418059).
48. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 5g, *c.* AD 120–200. A small area of decoration is extant, probably from a freestyle design; the decoration includes the fore-quarters of the sea-horse O.48A, a figure type employed by various Lezoux potters throughout the main *floruit* of Lezoux production (81418059).

Context 33

49. Body, CG, apparently Les Martres, Dr 37, 17g, *c.* AD 100–150. This is a difficult item to classify; the fabric is characteristically similar to the standard Les Martres ware, though the decorative details are not sharp and seem to be, for a Les Martres vessel, poorly realised, while the slip finish also seems more characteristic of Lezoux. A section of the ovolo band and an area of decoration are represented. The ovolo is large, well-rounded and has a double border with a distinct central core, while the tongue is straight and corded with a (presumably) rosette terminal. Overall this style is typical of Les Martres potters working in the early second century though this ovolo also occurs on the work of the later potters X-5, X-6 and the large S potter (e.g. Stanfield and Simpson 1958, pl. 67; pl. 76, no. 32). Below the ovolo is a wavy line border and beneath that the extant decoration consists of parts of two inverted festoons, Rogers F76 (cf. Stanfield and Simpson 1958, pl. 75, no. 14), which amongst others is associated with X-5/X-6. Whilst there are similarities with the work of Donnavcus (Stanfield and Simpson 1958) and the output of Igocatus (cf. Terrisse 1968, pls 14–15; that is Stanfield and Simpson's X-4 (1958, 17–21)), the actual producer may well have been X-5, X-6 or the large S potter (88074914). (Fig. 24)
50. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 5g, *c.* AD 120–200. Part of the trophy arrangement Rogers Q10 is present in a panel between bead borders (81418055).
51. Three rim sherds, one base sherd and five body sherds all from the same vessel, RE:o.15 D: 190 mm, 168g.
B. Dickinson writes: Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 42(?) stamped [CR·]ACISM, *c.* AD 130–155. Cracissa, Die 4a (Nash-Williams 1930, fig. 1, 29). This occurs in a Hadrianic-Antonine pit at Verulamium and in the material from the fire of *c.* AD 140–150 in a pottery shop in the Castleford *vicus* (Dickinson and Hartley 2000, fig. 29, no. 627). The die was used to stamp forms Dr 27 and 42 (81418055). (Fig. 25)

Context 44

52. Body, SG La Graufesenque, from a bowl or dish, 10g, *c.* AD 70–100 (81418057).
53. Two rim sherds and a body sherd, all conjoining, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 37, RE:o.12 D:190 mm, 69g, *c.* AD 90–110. The decoration, which is arranged in panels, is very poorly accomplished and in parts indistinct and/or blurred. The panels are separated by wavy lines. Overall the style is typical of many late La Graufesenque potters (cf. Jacobs 1912, Taf.1–3). The ovolo band is neat, with the ovolos themselves double-bordered and set close beside each other with a (blurred) straight tongue ending in a rosette (cf. Hartley 1985, fig. 98, D17–19; Atkinson 1914, 48–51) or possibly a knob. The main panel represented here is full-length; within, the satyr/Silenus figure O.596 or O.597 (Hermet 1934, pl. 19, 80 or 81) is repeated to form a matching pair, though in this instance poor moulding imbues the figures with a wraith-like appearance. Either side of this panel are half panels containing a small fan or conventional plant. There is a basal wreath of trifold type. This is a vessel of some interest (see discussion below) (81418059). (Fig. 24)
54. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 18/31R, RE: o.06 D:290 mm, 14g, *c.* AD 90–110. Burnt (81418057).
55. Body, CG Les Martres, Dr 37, 13g, *c.* AD 100–120. Only a tiny vestige of decoration is present; high gloss finish (81418059).
56. Rim, CG Les Martres, Dr 18/31, RE:o.09 D:180 mm, 13g, *c.* AD 100–120 (81418057).
57. Body, CG Les Martres, Dr 37, 8g, *c.* AD 100–125. A part of the ovolo border is represented with a bead line below. There is no satisfactory parallel for the ovolo in Rogers; the type

resembles ovolos employed by Drusus (e.g. Terrisse 1968, pl. 1, no. 10043 and pl. 11, no. 10095) and Ioenalis (e.g. Terrisse 1968, pl. 39, no. 303) (88074914).

58. Two rim sherds and four body sherds from the same vessel, CG Les Martres, Dr 37, RE:0.07 D:210 mm, 55g, *c.* AD 100–125. Part of the ovolo band and a small area of decoration are extant. The ovolo and tongue are indistinct, but the former appears to be double-bordered, while the tongue, which seemingly overlaps the ovolo, is evidently straight with a swelling but damaged terminal. Overall, this band is reminiscent of the ovolos of Rantus, Ioenalis and the Potter of the Rosette (Terrisse 1968). Beneath the ovolo is a wavy line border (Rogers A27), below which is part of the crouching man (a satyr or faun?) O.605; the latter is an uncommon figure type used by the Potter of the Rosette (Stanfield and Simpson 1958, pl. 26) and this bowl is probably his work (81418057, 81418059). (Fig. 24)
59. Body, CG Les Martres, probably Dr 18/31, 9g, *c.* AD 100–125 (81418057).
60. Rim and base probably from the same vessel, CG Les Martres, Dr 18/31, RE:0.06 D:170 mm, 45g, *c.* AD 100–130 (81418057).
61. Rim, CG probably Les Martres, Dr 18/31, RE:0.07 D:170 mm, 7g, *c.* AD 100–130 (8141805).
62. Body, CG Les Martres, from a large bowl, or possibly a dish, 24g, *c.* AD 100–130. Poorly finished (81418059).
63. Two rim sherds and a body sherd from the same vessel, CG Lezoux, Curle 11, RE:0.12 D:180 mm, 89g, *c.* AD 120–150 (81418057).
64. Rim, CG Lezoux, from bead rimmed dish, RE:0.07 D:190 mm, 5g, *c.* AD 120–200 (probably *c.* AD 120–175) (81418057).

Context 46

65. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 18/31R, 16g, *c.* AD 130–150 (81418054).

Context 47 (Believed to be probably pre-defences)

66. One sherd comprising a near complete profile including part of the base, floor and wall. Part of a scratched graffito occurs on the underside of the vessel within the footring, apparently reading: IANV[. Partially burnt.
B. Dickinson writes: Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 18/31–31, stamped [M]RCELLI·M in a frame with swallow-tail ends, *c.* AD 130–150. Marcellus iii, Die 2a. The potter's output includes a high proportion of forms which went out of production at Lezoux *c.* AD 160, such as Dr 18/31, 18/31R and 27. Similarly, his distribution includes sites in the Rhineland, which seems to have ceased to import Central Gaulish samian by the middle of the second century. This particular stamp offers no site dating, but it has been noted on Dr 18/31 and 18/31R (880749814). (Fig. 25)

Context 49

67. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 33, RE:0.06 D:120 mm, 5g, *c.* AD 120–170 (81418054).

Context 50 (Fill of roadside drain, first phase of pre-defences occupation)

68. Rim, CG Les Martres, Dr 18/31, RE:0.07 D:170 mm, 12g, *c.* AD 100–130 (81418057).

Context 51

69. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, RE:0.10 D:130 mm, 16g, *c.* AD 120–150. Conjoins sherd from (1965) context 19, see No. 25 for details (88074914).
70. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 27, RE:0.07 D:120 mm, 9g, *c.* AD 120–160 (81418054).
71. Body, CG Lezoux, Walters 81, 18g, *c.* AD 120–170 (81418054).

Context 53

72. Rim, SG La Graufesenque, small Ritt. 8, RE:0.13 D:70 mm, 4g, *c.* AD 55–70. Burnt (81418057).

73. Body, SG La Graufesenque, Curle 11, 14g, *c.* AD 70–100. From same vessel as sherds in (1965) context 62 (81418057).

Context 55

74. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 3g, *c.* AD 120–200 (probably *c.* AD 140–200). A very small area of decoration is represented, apparently from a large winding scroll (81418059).
75. Body, probably CG Lezoux, Walters 81 (as Oswald and Pryce, pl. 61, no. 8, from York), 6g, *c.* AD 120/130–200 (18418057).

Context 56

76. Rim, CG Lezoux, probably Dr 18/31, RE:c.o.04 D:uncertain, 3g, *c.* AD 120–150 (81418057).
77. Rim, CG Lezoux, from bead rimmed bowl, probably Dr 37, RE:o.05 D:180 mm, 7g, *c.* AD 120–170. No decoration represented (81418059).
78. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 46, RE:o.15 D:130 mm, 11g, *c.* AD 120–200 (probably *c.* AD 140–200) (81418057).

Context 58 (Second phase of pre-defences occupation)

79. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 30 or 37, 2g, *c.* AD 120–200. A tiny area of decoration is present (81418059).

Context 62

80. Body, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 27, 12g, *c.* AD. 55–100. Burnt (81418057).
81. Two body sherds from the same vessel, SG La Graufesenque, Curle 11, 20g, *c.* AD 70–100. Another sherd from this vessel was recovered from (1965) context 53 (81418057).
82. Base, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 15/17 or 18 or Curle 15, 71g, *c.* AD 70–100. This item has been trimmed round at the junction of the wall and the vessel floor (81418057).
83. Two conjoining body sherds, SG La Graufesenque, Dr 37, 33g, *c.* AD 85/90–110. The ovolo, panel arrangement, figure types and the relatively poor quality finish are typical of late Flavian La Graufesenque bowls (cf. Jacobs 1912), though the standard of this vessel is significantly higher than that of the late Dr 37 from this source in context 44 (No. 53 above). The ovolo is blurred though seemingly has a three-pronged tongue; the satyr/faun figure O.602 is depicted, as is Victory, O.808B; Hermet illustrates similar designs (cf. Hermet 1934, pls 86 and 87) (81418059, 88074914). (Fig. 24)
84. Rim, CG Lezoux, Dr 33, RE:c.o.06 D:120 mm, 6g, *c.* AD 120–150 (81418057).
85. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 27, 16g, *c.* AD 120–160 (81418057).
86. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 11g, *c.* AD 120–200. The front part of a 'big cat' to the right is present; the head is blurred; the type is generically O.1391, though not specifically so, and might be a leopard or cheetah rather than a lion. The piece is not attributable (81418059, 88074914).
87. Rim, CG Lezoux, small Dr 37, RE:o.12 D:160 mm, 20g, *c.* AD 120–200. A part of the ovolo band and a small area of the decorative design, evidently panelled, are present on an unattributable sherd. The ovolo has a rounded end, while the tongue is twisted and terminates in a rounded knob, though the detail is indistinct; below is a bead border with an astragalus masking a panel border junction, with part of what might be a festoon in one panel. The fabric is unusually red (81418059, 88074914).
88. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 9g, *c.* AD 125–175. A part of the ovolo band and a small area of the decorative design are present. The ovolo is neat with a double border; the tongue is straight and apparently plain, with only, perhaps, a slight thickening at the terminal. Below the ovolo is a fine bead border and underneath is the widely employed horseman figure O.246, though in this case the rider's head is in profile and the *poinçon* was evidently damaged giving the figure a rather disarticulated appearance. The decorative elements suggest the Antonine potter Bannus (e.g. Hartley *et al.* 1975, fig. 10, no. 94); however, the damaged *poinçon* apart, the character of the execution of this bowl, including the quality of the slip, argue for a date earlier in the second century (cf. Stanfield and Simpson 1958, 241–43), and

- in fact this vessel may well be a product of the Cerialis ii-Cinnamus ii group (81418059, 88074914). (Fig. 24)
89. Body, CG Lezoux, Dr 37, 8g, *c.* AD 150–175. Part of a large winding scroll is present in the form of a section of tendrils from the lower part of the decorated area; the style closely resembles the work of Cinnamus ii (cf. Hartley *et al.* 1994, 108, fig. 52, nos 286–89) (81418059, 88074914).
90. Base, CG Lezoux, Dr 31, 45g, *c.* AD 150–200. The interior of the footring is worn (81418057).
91. *B. Dickinson writes:* Base, EG, Dr 33 stamped PATRVITVS·F (between guide-lines), late second or early third century. Patruitus iii, Die 4a. This cup was undoubtedly made in East Gaul, though its precise provenance is less clear. The die from which the stamp came was used at both Rheinzabern (Ludowici 1927, 225, a, apparently not impressed at the end) and Trier (Frey 1993, 223, 1). On balance, this vessel is more likely to have come from Rheinzabern, to judge by its fabric and glaze. Patruitus iii is known to have worked at Rheinzabern, Heiligenberg and Trier, but there is no site dating for him. The style of the lettering of all of his stamps and his use of guide-lines suggest that the dies were made at Trier, but there is no evidence for his subsequent moves, although he is likely to have ended his career at Rheinzabern (81418059, 88074914). (Fig. 25)

Discussion

The samian from the significant 1961 contexts is of considerable interest and provides useful chronological evidence. Of the three contexts with samian which precede the stone building, contexts 12 and 27 contained sherds from some sixteen samian vessels of essentially Flavian to Trajanic/early Hadrianic date (nos 3–18); the vessel with the earliest firm date range is a Dr 27 which is Neronian-early Flavian, while two items from Les Martres are the latest, with a date range of *c.* AD 100–125. Context 3, the other deposit with samian pre-dating the stone building, contained two cup bases. One of the latter dates to *c.* AD 100–130, the other, the latest piece amongst these three contexts, is a Lezoux product bearing a stamp and dated to *c.* AD 160–190. Context 59, possibly the floor or floor make-up of the stone building, contained only South Gaulish samian which is presumably residual in this deposit. In sum the stamped Lezoux fragment is important for considering the chronology of the stone building; the absence of any other Lezoux products amongst this small sample of contexts possibly relates to a mid-second century hiatus in activity at this location (perhaps also indicated by a turf line between the timber and stone buildings; p. 00).

Turning to the 1965 investigations, the catalogued samian from the ‘significant’ contexts is later in emphasis than that from 1961. There is one context containing samian which is assignable to the first phase of the pre-defences occupation (No. 68, context 50). There is only one samian sherd from this context, a rim from a Les Martres, Dr 18/31 dateable to *c.* AD 100–130. Similarly there is one context (58) with samian which is believed to be from the second pre-defences phase. Again only one sherd is present, this being a very small fragment, *c.* AD 120–200 (No. 79). For the remaining thirteen pre-defences contexts with samian it is not known whether they are from the first or second phases. However, the general pattern amongst these groups is clear and consistent. They are dominated by sherds from Central Gaulish vessels largely of firm Hadrianic to early/mid-Antonine date, and there are very few pieces likely to be later in date than this bracket. There are only four items likely to date after *c.* AD 150, with only one with a late second-century or early third-century date. Amongst these contexts the composition of the comparatively large group from context 44 is conspicuous in so far as South Gaulish and Les Martres vessels form the clear majority amongst the vessels represented.

Sherds from eight samian vessels occur in contexts 12 and 19 from within the rampart (Nos 23–30). Of these the item with the latest start date is the Dr 31 from context 12

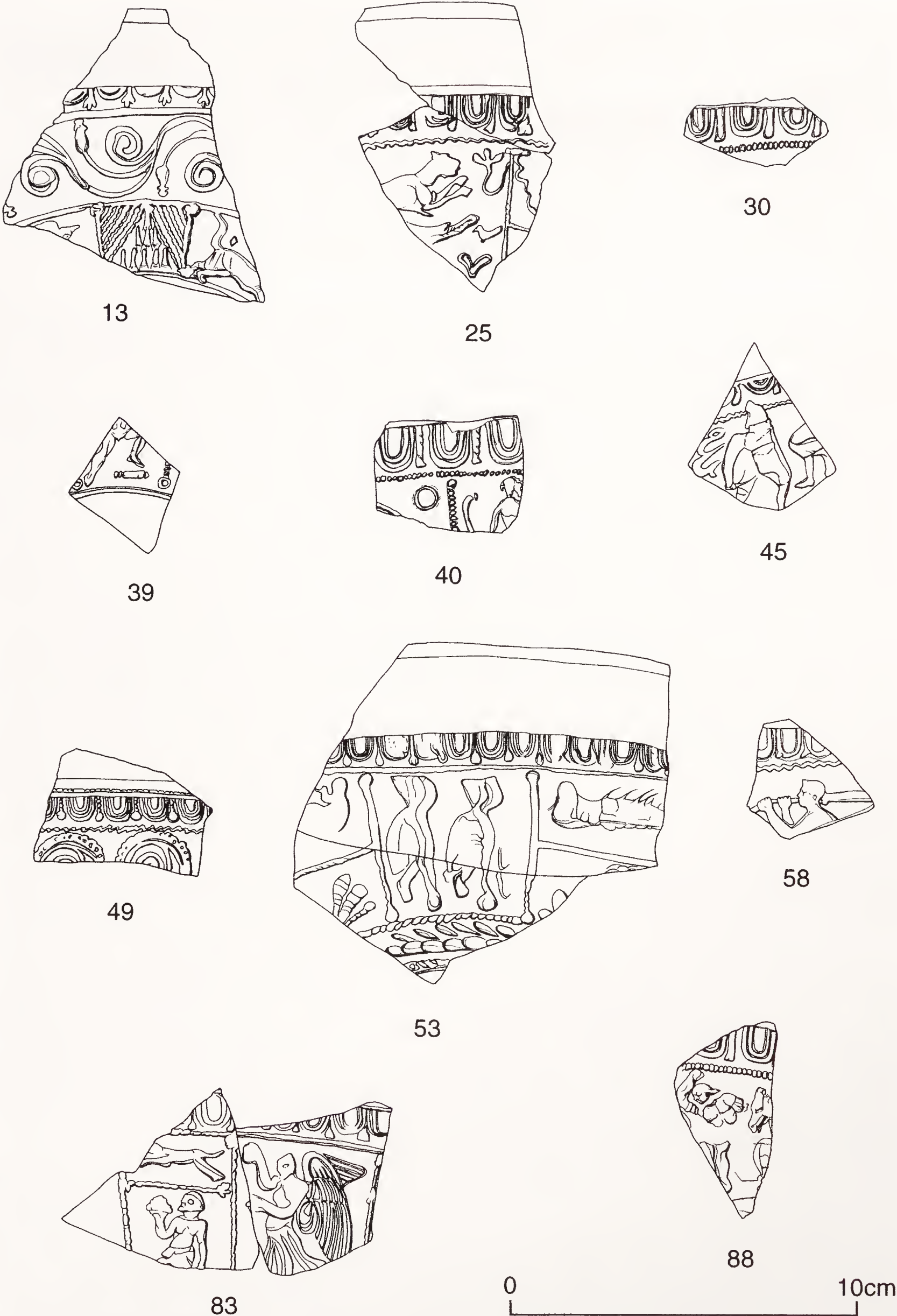


Fig. 24. Samian ware. Scale 1:2.



Fig. 25. Samian stamps. Scale 1:1.

which should date to after *c.* AD 150; however the quality of the slip finish on this item suggests that it probably dates to the third quarter of the second century (No. 24). Similarly two decorated bowls from context 19 should date no later than *c.* AD 170. It is noted elsewhere in this report that the non-samian pottery from the rampart generally comprises nothing that is later in date than that from the pre-defences contexts, and this is also the case with the samian. What is particularly telling, in terms of the establishment of the defences, is the absence from contexts belonging to the primary defences (and indeed pre-defences contexts) of the otherwise familiar later Antonine form types such as Dr 31R, Walters 79 and 80, the mortaria Dr 43 and 45, and the Ludowici series; the bowl Dr 38 is, in addition, noticeably infrequent, as are East Gaulish vessels (cf. Table 2).

Considering the samian from Aldborough within a wider context, the frequency of later first-century South Gaulish ware is quite striking. Some comparatively early pieces are noteworthy, including the two potentially pre-Flavian Dr 27s amongst the catalogued sherds from 1961, one assignable as *c.* AD 40–80, the other *c.* AD 55–80, the Dr 27 from 1965, dated *c.* AD 55–100 and the Ritterling 8 cup which should be Neronian (Nos 16, 19, 72, 80). In addition Oswald believed the earliest samian from the area of the defences sampled in 1938 was *c.* AD 60–70 (Myres *et al.* 1959, 50). Sizeable pre-Flavian samian assemblages are of course known from the indigenous sites at Stanwick (Haselgrove *et al.* in press) and Melsonby (Fitts *et al.* 1999) in North Yorkshire, to the north of Aldborough, and the occurrence of these assemblages is a reminder that samian was arriving in Yorkshire in the years prior to the conquest by the Roman army. However, the *floruit* of the South Gaulish ware recorded from Aldborough to date is Flavian (and probably later Flavian). Certainly both the decorated and plain South Gaulish ware amongst the 1961 and 1965 assemblages have a strong Flavian/late Flavian bias (for instance there are no (certain) Dr 15/17s). Some older vessels are to be anticipated amongst Flavian assemblages, and one can see a similar phenomenon amongst the first-century AD Roman pottery from the fort at Binchester where a number of Neronian vessels occur, including examples of Dr 30, Ritterling 9 and 12 (*pers. comm.* F. Wild). Pre-Flavian samian at Aldborough does not therefore necessarily indicate supply to the site during this period, though one might keep an open mind (given the finds noted from elsewhere in North and East Yorkshire), until more is known regarding the site's origins.

A further observation of significance regarding the posited-military status of Aldborough at this time can be gleaned from comparing the present material with that from contemporary non-military sites in Yorkshire. Recent research has demonstrated that indigenous sites of the first century AD in Yorkshire, such as Stanwick, Melsonby and Rudston, acquired far higher proportions of decorated samian bowls *vis-à-vis* plain wares than was normal at contemporary Roman military sites in Britain (Willis 1997; Fitts *et al.* 1999). The 1961 and 1965 South Gaulish material from Aldborough (cf. Tables

1 and 2), whilst not an ideal sample, displays a standard military site ratio of around one decorated bowl to every five plain ware types. This may constitute a further indication of a Roman military presence at Aldborough during the Flavian era.

TABLE 1: The composition of the samian assemblage from the pre-stone building deposits and possibly the floor of the stone building, 1961 (items identifiable to generic forms only)

Form Type	South Gaulish	Central Gaulish — Les Martres	Central Gaulish — Lezoux
<i>Cups:</i>			
Dr 27	9		
Dr 33		1	1
<i>Decorated Bowls:</i>			
Dr 37	2		
<i>Other Bowls:</i>			
Specific form uncertain	1		
<i>Dishes:</i>			
Drag 18/31		2	
<i>Plates:</i>			
Dr 18	5		
Totals:	17	3	1

The identifiable generic forms present amongst the catalogued 1961 and 1965 samples are detailed in Tables 1 and 2. The tables indicate that Aldborough received a wide range of types throughout the 100 years or so after *c.* AD 70, which is befitting for its importance. The presence of an inkwell, Ritterling 13, from 1965 context 29 is of intrinsic interest. Similarly noteworthy is the fact that whilst comparatively less samian was imported into Britain during the Trajanic-early Hadrianic period this is not reflected in Table 2 which demonstrates a strong showing by Les Martres products of this period; again this ‘sustained’ supply may relate to the site’s standing as a regional centre.

On a more mundane note the Dr 37 (*c.* AD 90–110) from La Graufesenque recovered from 1965 context 44 (No. 53) amply illustrates the decline in quality of La Graufesenque products by the end of the first century. Nonetheless such vessels were evidently marketed over distance, presumably with ‘success’.

Amongst the sherds not catalogued is a rim from a Dr 18/31 dish in South Gaulish Montans fabric (1961, context 45; dating to *c.* AD 90–150) and two sherds from a Dr 33 in Argonne samian fabric (1965, context 5; dating *c.* AD 135/150–260). In addition to the sherds with drilled holes, presumably for repair, amongst the catalogued items are the following drilled sherds from the other samian: 1961, context 45, one drilled hole in a Lezoux rim, probably from a Dr 30 or 37; 1965, context 5, a Lezoux sherd from a Dr 31 or 31R with one drilled hole; and 1965, context 48, two conjoining sherds from a La Graufesenque Dr 30, each with a drilled hole and lead residues.

AMPHORAE

The excavations produced 43.855 kg of amphorae. Although there were numerous rims, handles and basal warts in Dressel 20 fabric (Peacock and Williams 1986 Class 25 = P&W 25), the other amphora fabrics included only one rim and five handles, and consisted mainly of undiagnostic body sherds.

TABLE 2: The composition of the samian assemblage from pre-defences occupation, 1965 (items identifiable to generic forms only; contexts 1, 14, 29, 33, 44, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 56, 58 and 62).

Form Type	South Gaulish	Central Gaulish — Les Martres	Central Gaulish — Lezoux	East Gaulish	Number of Vessels Represented
<i>Cups:</i>					
Dr 27	1		3		4
Dr 33			3	1	4
Dr 46			1		1
Ritt. 8	1				1
<i>Decorated Bowls:</i>					
Dr 30 or 37			1		1
Dr 37	2	4	14		20
<i>Plain Bowls:</i>					
Dr 38				1	1
Curle 11	1		2		3
Walters 81			2		2
<i>Other Bowls:</i>					
Specific form uncertain			1		1
<i>Dishes:</i>					
Drag 18/31		6	4		10
Dr 18/31R	1		1		2
Dr 31			1		1
Specific form uncertain			1		1
<i>Inkwells:</i>					
Ritt. 13			1		1
<i>Indeterminate:</i>					
Plate or Dish	1				1
Bowl or Dish	1	1	1		3
Totals:	8	11	36	2	57

TABLE 3: Amphorae types

Type	%
Dressel 20	76.40
Southern Spain	0.80
Gallic	3.10
P & W 55	0.05
Black sand	15.95
Volcanic	0.20
Unclassified	3.50
Total weight:	43.855 kg

Dressel 20 (P&W 25)

This is the most common type of amphora imported into Britain, and was in production from the first century to the late third century.

Southern Spanish

This category includes a rim possibly from Dressel 7–11 range (P&W 16) and a handle of Cam 186 type (P&W 17–19). P&W 16 are first century in date and P&W 17–19 are first century to early second century. These vessels contained fish-based products.

Black sand and volcanic

Vessels in the black sand fabric were made in Central Campania and contained wine. The sherds could come from Dressel 2–4 (P&W 10) amphorae of first-century to mid-second-century date or of the later, probably third-century, ‘almond-shaped rim’ amphorae (Williams 1994, 218–19). Without the diagnostic rims and handles, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. ‘Almond-shaped rim’ amphorae are also found in a volcanic fabric, probably from Northern Campania (*ibid.*, 219).

Unclassified

This category included part of a thin-walled vessel with narrow, circular cross-sectioned handles in a buff fabric with white inclusions and occasional gold mica plates.

Discussion

Dressel 20 was the most common type of amphora at Aldborough, making up 76.4 per cent of the total. This is close to the percentages at York city sites (71 per cent) and York Minster (73 per cent; Williams 1990, 342 and tab. 22). The site has, however, a smaller proportion of Gallic amphorae than either York or Malton. The percentage for the black sand amphorae is distorted by the presence of a large part of a single vessel in one context, while the P&W 55 is represented only by a single sherd.

Amphora stamps

1. CANTQVIE

Handle of Dressel 20, G. Antonius Quietus. Callender 1965, no. 243. c. AD 70–120. A65/S, unstratified.

Published amphora stamps from previous excavations include: Callender 290 (fig. 5, no. 21, pre-Antonine), Callender 319a (fig. 5, no. 28, possibly incomplete example of Callender 823b), Callender 334 (fig. 5, no. 35, pre-Antonine), Callender 823b (fig. 8, no. 33, AD 90–130?), Callender 1535 (mid-second to late second century), and two doubtful examples (Callender 721, 1512). There are further unpublished examples, including a P&W 27 stamped MER[]VR[].

MORTARIA

By K. F. Hartley

A total of 14.825 kg of mortaria was available for study from the excavations of 1961 and 1965.

FABRICS

Fabric 1

Mancetter-Hartshill potteries, Warks. This description is based on finds from this site and represents one variant of the fabrics produced in these potteries.

Smooth, fine-textured cream fabric, occasionally with some pink in the core; moderate, ill-sorted, but mostly small, transparent and pinkish quartz and fewer orange-brown inclusions; sometimes with a few larger, mostly orange-brown inclusions. Self-coloured or slightly darker slip. Trituration grit consists of pinkish-brown and/or blackish material. Third- and fourth-century ones hardest in texture and there is one example (archive

no. 35, not illustrated) almost without inclusions. (Stamps: Nos 1–10. Illustrated: Fig. 26, nos 6–7; Fig. 27, stamp no. 1.)

Fabric 2

Fabric 2 represents another variant of the fabrics produced at Mancetter-Hartshill and most of these sherds are probably from these potteries. Fairly similar fabrics (usually with differing trituration grit) could, however, be produced at Aldborough and Lincoln. Some Aldborough and Lincoln fabrics are difficult or impossible to distinguish from each other in macroscopic examination, especially in the absence of trituration grit.

Fine-textured cream to buff-cream fabric with moderate to fairly frequent, ill-sorted transparent quartz, opaque orange-brown and blackish inclusions; few larger ones. Cream to yellowish slip. This fabric has some similarity to Fabric 1, but there are few pinkish quartz inclusions such as are present in Fabric 1. Where trituration grit has survived it appears to be that produced in the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries, and many of the sherds in Fabric 2 have been attributed on account of the red-brown or blackish trituration grit commonly used there. None of the trituration grit specifically attributable to their production in the early second century is present in this sample. (Stamps: Nos 10–11. Illustrated: Fig. 26, no. 2.)

Fabric 3

Probably Aldborough

Fairly fine-textured, brownish-buff fabric with pink core; moderate to fairly frequent inclusions, mostly tiny to small quartz with some orange-brown and very rare quartz sandstone (white) and black material. The trituration grit consists entirely of transparent quartz. Brownish slip. (Stamp: No. 12. Illustrated: Fig. 26, no. 4; Fig. 27, stamp no. 12.)

Fabric 4

Lower Nene Valley

Fine-textured greyish-cream fabric with barely visible, abundant quartz and sparse, tiny orange-brown inclusions. Trituration grit consists of blackish iron slag up to 3–4 mm in size.

Fabric 5

Brampton, Norfolk

Fine-textured, brownish-pink fabric with thick drab core; moderate, tiny to small, red-brown, opaque white (non-reactive), black and transparent quartz inclusions, random and ill-sorted. Buff-brown slip, fired to tan and even chocolate on upper surface near the spout. No trituration survives but it would have included quartz and flint. (Stamp: Fig. 27, stamp no. 13.)

Fabric 6

Aldborough

Fine-textured, orange-brown to brown fabric (Munsell 5YR 6/8 'reddish-yellow'), with cream slip; few, random, ill-sorted, but mostly tiny to small inclusions: transparent quartz, red-brown material and slag. Trituration grit included quartz, quartz sandstone, opaque white (non-reactive), flint and red-brown material. (Stamps: Nos 14–17. Illustrated: Fig. 26, no. 3.)

*Fabric 7**Aldborough*

Very hard, very fine-textured, orange-brown fabric (Munsell 10YR 6/8 and 5/8 'light red and red'), sometimes with dark blue-grey core (Munsell 2.5YR 4/0 'dark grey'), and cream slip. Inclusions: moderate, tiny to small, quartz, black (?slag), and red-brown material. The trituration grit is mostly quartz with some red-brown sandstone and rare black material.

*Fabric 8**Northern England, possibly Aldborough*

Very hard, brown fabric (Munsell 5YR 6/8 'reddish-yellow') with matt buff-brown slip; fairly frequent and random, ill-sorted inclusions, mostly quartz with hackly fracture with few red-brown inclusions. The trituration grit is almost all quartz with few red-brown sandstone and rare black fragments.

Fabric 9

Probably Aldborough (see Fabric 10) (Dr Paul Buckland has examined all of the sherds in Fabrics 9 and 10 and has kindly supplemented the original descriptions.)

Extremely hard, orange-brown fabric with sandwich core, blackish with very thick dark brown inner core and cream slip. Fairly frequent, ill-sorted but mostly small quartz. The trituration grit is very mixed with evident quartz, angular light grey chert, ?ironstone and sandstone; basal sherd archive no. 62 also includes much fine white, decalcified limestone. The most likely source for the chert is the Carboniferous Limestone of the Pennines, but the combination with other rocks — the sandstone fragments appear to be Millstone Grit and the limestone ?Magnesian Limestone — would suggest a local source, exploiting the Quaternary gravels. Much of the trituration is covered by slip indicating little or no use. Sherds of this fabric are archive no. 61 (overfired and technically a waster; it is too fragmentary to assess whether it was usable and, therefore, saleable); no. 62, almost certainly from another vessel, and nos 60 and 59, probably from one vessel, but not joining. (Illustrated: Fig. 26, no. 5.)

*Fabric 10**Possibly Aldborough*

Hard, dark brown fabric (Munsell 10YR 4/3), cream slip; trituration grit consists entirely of black slag. The fairly frequent inclusions are mostly small, ill-sorted quartz. The colour of the fabric is highly unusual and similar to the inner core of Fabric 9. The mortarium in Fabric 10 (archive no. 63; Fig. 27, no. 10) was made in the tradition current at Cantley, Swanpool and Catterick (Hartley in preparation), in the third and fourth centuries and, had the mortaria in Fabric 9 not been present, archive no. 63 would have been regarded as an aberrant product from one of these potteries. The mortaria in Fabric 9 (archive nos 59–60; Fig. 26, no. 5), are of second-century date and, like second-century mortaria made at Cantley/Rossington Bridge and Catterick have a very mixed trituration grit; the third- and fourth-century mortaria made in these potteries have a trituration grit consisting entirely of iron slag. This sort of chronological change in the trituration grit can be paralleled at some other workshops, e.g. the Lower Nene Valley.

Cantley and Catterick remain possible sources for archive no. 63, but the variation in colour would be highly unusual in either pottery. The presence at Aldborough of three mortaria, which all have this feature, together with a fourth, clearly belonging to the same fabric group, which is technically a waster, does raise the possibility of some production at Aldborough. This would not be impossible even for archive no. 63 since the

tradition was widespread, probably due to the movement of potters accustomed to it (a small production probably occurred at Littleborough-on-Trent, Notts. (Hartley 1995, 271 and 282)). The mortaria in Fabrics 9 and 10 are, however, very widely separated in date for this to be the case. (Illustrated: Fig. 27, no. 10.)

Fabric 11

Oise/Somme area, North France (Tomber and Dore 1998, 75–76)

Self-coloured, slightly powdery fabric, drab, almost greenish-cream in colour (Munsell 2.5Y 7/2, 'light grey'). Inclusions: random, moderate, ill-sorted, brown ?slag and quartz. The trituration grit consists of flint and quartz with rare opaque black and possibly rare brown material.

Fabric 12

Rhône Valley (Tomber and Dore 1998, 68)

Self-coloured, slightly powdery, very fine-textured, very pale pinkish-brown fabric (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4.5), fired to cream at the surface; few to moderate, random inclusions, mostly largish quartz with hackly fracture and rare opaque black. Trituration grit composed of similar material.

Fabric 13

Rhineland (Tomber and Dore 1998, 78)

Fine-textured, cream fabric with moderate to fairly frequent inclusions, mostly rounded quartz with few red-brown inclusions; quartz trituration grit.

Fabric 14

Oise/Somme area, North France (Tomber and Dore 1998, 75–76)

Self-coloured, smooth, cream fabric (Munsell 2.5Y 8/2 'white', with thin pink core, fired to a much harder texture than Fabric 11, but with similar inclusions and trituration grit (archive no. 70). (Illustrated: Fig. 26, no. 1.)

Fabric 15

Soller, Kreis Düren, Lower Germany: workshop of Verecundus, but continued later (Haupt 1984, Taf. 179–81; Tomber and Dore 1998, 79–80)

Basically fine-textured creamy buff fabric made coarse by the addition of very frequent inclusions of very ill-sorted (up to 3 mm), angular, transparent, translucent and opaque white quartz with sparse orange-brown fragments. The trituration grit is usually composed of large white quartz. Buff slip, often fired to orange-brown near the spout. (Illustrated: Fig. 27, no. 9.)

Fabric 16

Crambeck (Evans 1989, 55; Tomber and Dore 1998, 198)

Hard, fairly close-textured and slightly sandy to the touch; cream or greyish-cream fabric sometimes with pink or grey core and a self-coloured slip; packed with tiny, fairly well-sorted quartz and few red-brown inclusions. The trituration grit is composed entirely of black iron slag and is usually confined to an area well below the bottom of the bead.

Fabric 17

Crambeck (Evans 1989)

A finer version of Fabric 16 with few visible inclusions; the black slag trituration grit is usually finely fragmented and packed close together in the lower part of the vessel.

Surface slips varying from cream to pale brown are normal; mortaria in this fabric were frequently decorated on the rim with motifs picked out in red-brown paint. When the mortarium was going to be decorated, the rim at least was polished before the decoration was added. Occasionally the whole vessel was polished to a silky smooth finish. These mortaria were very hard-fired and often have the consistency of stoneware.

Fabric 18

Malton area (Monaghan 1997, no. 3404)

Fine-textured, orange-brown fabric; core often shades from pale drab brown to grey. Inclusions visible at x20 magnification comprise moderate ill-sorted and random quartz, rare red-brown ?sandstone and ?iron slag. The trituration grit consists of quartz and red-brown sandstone. Mortaria in this fabric usually have a thin white slip.

Fabric 19

Probably Aldborough

Self-coloured, fine-textured brownish-cream fabric, somewhat reminiscent of Crambeck fabric, though much softer and powdery; the distinctive quartz trituration grit is distributed up to the bead. (Illustrated: Fig. 27, no. 8.)

Fabric 20

Verulamium region (production at Brockley Hill, Little Munden (Bricket Wood), Radlett and Verulamium)

Granular, greyish-cream fabric sometimes with pink core; the texture was obtained by the addition of abundant, well-sorted, quartz inclusions possibly with a little flint and sometimes with very sparse red-brown material. The trituration grit consists mostly of flint with some quartz and rare red-brown material. The fabric can be much less granular when the inclusions are more finely fragmented and perhaps less frequent. The fabric is occasionally brownish or reddish-brown.

CATALOGUE

The entries include vessel diameter, estimated rim equivalent (%), the fabric type, description and context number. The English Heritage accession number, where applicable, is added in brackets at the end.

1. D:240 mm. 9%. Fabric 14; import, possibly from Northern France. Sherd from a wall-sided mortarium of the type current in the Claudian period but probably also being used in the early Neronian period. This type, like this example, usually had no trituration grit; probably only the latest examples had it. Worn. AD 40–60. Generally similar to, but not identical with Hartley 1991, type TC/B2. A61/NW corner of complex (81418018).
2. D:310 mm. 6%. Fabric 2. *c.* AD 100–140. See also stamp no. 11. A65/U.
3. D:260 mm. 13%. Fabric 6. Flanged mortarium, burnt. Probably made at Aldborough. A generally similar one made by a local potter probably called Viator is published in Jones 1971, fig. 18, no. 7. The optimum date for this is *c.* AD 100–140. A65/19 (88074902).
4. D:220 mm. 14%. Fabric. AD 140–180. See also stamp no. 12. A65/11.
5. D:260 mm. 17%. Fabric 9. Probably local. One rim sherd (145g) and, not joining, but probably from the same vessel, two body/base sherds (362g) giving the whole of the base. Second century, not later than AD 180. Optimum date AD 140–70. The slip covers the trituration grit and survives almost intact on the basal interior; these factors indicate that the mortarium has seen little if any use. Some burning. A65/48.
6. D:300 mm. 14%. Fabric 1. AD 140–70. See also stamp no. 7. A65/2.
7. D:360 mm. 14%. Fabric 1. AD 135–65. See also stamp no. 3. A65/2, A65/U.
8. D:280 mm. Fabric 19, burnt. This is an unusual mortarium from an unknown, but probably fairly local source, likely to date to AD 140–80. A65/S.

9. D:430mm. 10%. Fabric 15. AD 150–220. This example could well belong to the second half of this period. For similar ones see Haupt 1984, Taf. 173, no. 7B and Taf. 180, no.5. A60/K (88074843).
10. D:200 mm. 22%. Fabric 10. A reeded, wall-sided mortarium which could be paralleled in products from the potteries at Cantley and Swanpool. Burnt. Made within the period AD 250–400, perhaps not before the late third century. See Fabric 10 for further comments on this mortarium. A65/U.

Stamped mortaria

1. A65/56 (53K) (Fig. 27, no. 1)
Wt:0.190 kg D: c.320 mm. 13%. Fabric 1. Complete stamp reading SARIVS, initial and final S reversed, A with diagonal bar and an extra stroke attached to V making it a reversed N; a second intrusive stroke attached to the V turns this also into a reversed N. A few stamps which are otherwise identical do not have either of the intrusive strokes. These strokes were either added to the die at some time, or there were two sister dies made from the same matrix, only one of which has the extra two strokes (see Hartley 1996, 148 for comments on dies).
2. A65/2 (54K)
Wt:0.465 kg D:c.320 mm. 18%. Fabric 1. Spout type 4B (Mancetter-Hartshill spout series, unpublished). The broken, left-facing stamp preserves parts of the reversed N and final S of a stamp from the same die as the above. The diagonal slashing made across the flange to provide keying for the addition of extra clay to form the spout is still visible on this example. The trituration grit is blackish, some of it partially covered by slip indicating little if any use. Stamp no. 1 is probably the right-facing stamp from stamp no. 2, though they do not join. (See Fig. 26, no. 7)
3. A65/2 and A65/U (56K)
Five joining sherds giving almost the whole base and about one-fifth of the rim. Wt:1.050 kg D:360 mm. 14%. Fabric 1. Spout type 4A. The broken, right-facing stamp survives, from the same die of Sarrius as stamp nos 1–2. The mortarium appears to be completely unworn. Pinky brown grit, some of it covered with slip indicating little if any use.
4. A65/12 (57K)
Wt:0.288 kg D:270 mm. 23%. Fabric 1. The left-facing stamp survives, from the same die of Sarrius as stamps nos 1–2 above.
A65/U
Wt:0.134 kg. Two joining body/base sherds are probably from stamp no. 4 though they do not join it. Pinkish-brown trituration grit, some of it partially covered with slip indicating little, if any, use.
5. A65/U (58K)
Wt:0.040 kg D:290 mm. 13%. Fabric 1. Flange fragment with fragment of left-facing stamp from the same die of Sarrius as stamps nos 1–2.
6. A65/56 (55K)
Wt:0.015 kg Fabric 1. Flake from the flange of different mortarium from the above, with fragmentary stamp from the same die of Sarrius as stamps nos 1–2.
7. A65/2 (52K)
Wt:0.140 D:300 mm. 14%. Fabric 1. Broken stamp from the most commonly used die of Sarrius, reading SARRI with decorative motifs between the first three letters.
See also Fig. 26, no. 6

Comments

The stamp no. 7 is from the most commonly used die of Sarrius, while the other five of his mortaria in this sample are stamped with a less commonly used die (Fig. 27, no. 1). Including old finds from Aldborough, six mortaria are now recorded, stamped with the same die as Fig. 27, no. 1, three with the same die as no. 7 (one of these in red-brown fabric, probably made at Rossington Bridge), and two stamped with a third midland die,

making the large total of eleven mortaria in all. It is worth noting that Aldborough has more mortaria stamped with the same die as Fig. 27, no. 1 (the old find does not have any intrusive strokes) than any other site, including Leicester which was in the 'home' market area for this potter.

Sarrius was the most prolific potter stamping mortaria in the second century, but he was most exceptional in having at least four workshops in the Midlands, the north of England and Scotland. His Mancetter-Hartshill workshop in Warwickshire was of major importance and the evidence suggests that it continued in production throughout the life of his subsidiary workshops at Rossington Bridge, near Doncaster (Buckland, Hartley and Rigby, forthcoming), Bearsden on the Antonine Wall (Hartley in Breeze, forthcoming) and at an unlocated site in north-east England. Except for a single mortarium with stamp as no. 7, probably from his subsidiary workshop at Rossington Bridge, all of his mortaria at Aldborough are from his midland workshops.

The date of Sarrius's activity is assessed from the abundance of his work at forts on the Antonine Wall, its absence from Pennine forts unoccupied *c.* AD 120–60, his rim forms and his probable association with Iunius at one of his Mancetter kilns. A stamp from Verulamium is dated *c.* AD 155–60 (Frere 1972, no. 35), and one from a Period 1a deposit at Birdoswald suggests that he was at work before AD 140 (Birley 1930, 187, no. 2, 'with illegible stamp'). The evidence points to his overall activity lying within the period AD 135–165/170. The die used for stamp no. 7 was in use during the second half of Sarrius's activity and a date of AD 140–70 could be given to this mortarium. The die used for Fig. 27, no. 1 is probably to be dated within the period AD 135–65.

8. A65/2 (61K)
Wt:0.030 kg Incomplete rim section in Fabric 1. Mancetter-Hartshill. The border of a stamp survives, but too fragmentary to identify. AD 135–65.
9. A65/11 (62K)
Wt:0.093 kg Incomplete rim section in Fabric 1. Mancetter-Hartshill. The edge of a stamp survives, but it is too fragmentary to identify. AD 100–170.
10. A65/55 (63K)
Wt:0.068 kg D:310 mm. 5.5%. Mortarium in Fabric 2 with the corner of an unidentifiable stamp. Source uncertain, possibly Mancetter-Hartshill. *c.* AD 130–60.
11. A65/u (49K) Fig. 27, no. 11
Wt:0.084 kg D:*c.*310 mm. 6%. Fabric 2. Broken stamp, possibly a trademark, impressed across the flange. No other examples known. Probably made locally *c.* AD 100–140. See also Fig. 26, no. 2
12. A65/11 (50K) Fig. 27, no. 12
Wt:0.118 kg D:220 mm. 14%. Fabric 3. Wall-sided mortarium with type 5 spout. The broken stamp is poorly impressed along the collar. Until further examples are found the potter's name remains uncertain. Probably made at Aldborough within the period AD 140–80. See also Fig. 26, no. 4
13. A65/29 (51K)
Wt:0.0530 kg D:460 mm. 16%. Fabric 5. The border of the left-facing stamp survives. This is almost certainly from a die which reads NATIO retrograde (other dies reading SNATIO). Another mortarium of his has been recorded from Aldborough (old find). This potter worked at Brampton, Norfolk, in the second century.
14. A65/s (48K)
Wt:0.360 kg D:260mm. 31%. Well-worn.
15. A65/s (47K)
Wt:0.128 kg D:280 mm. 9%. Worn.
16. A65/29 (46K)
Wt:0.138 kg D:290 mm. 6%. Well-worn.

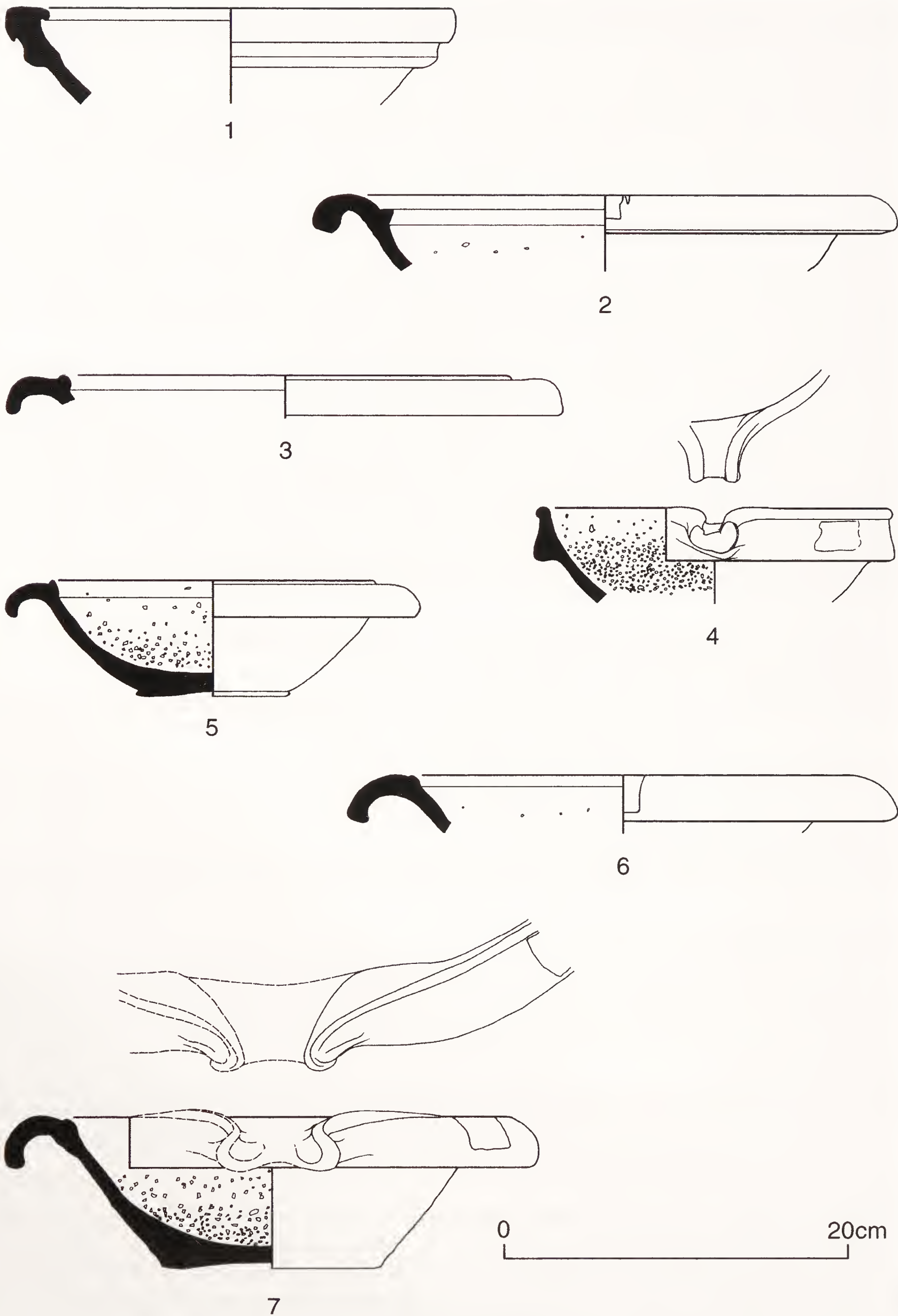


Fig. 26. Mortaria. Scale 1:4.

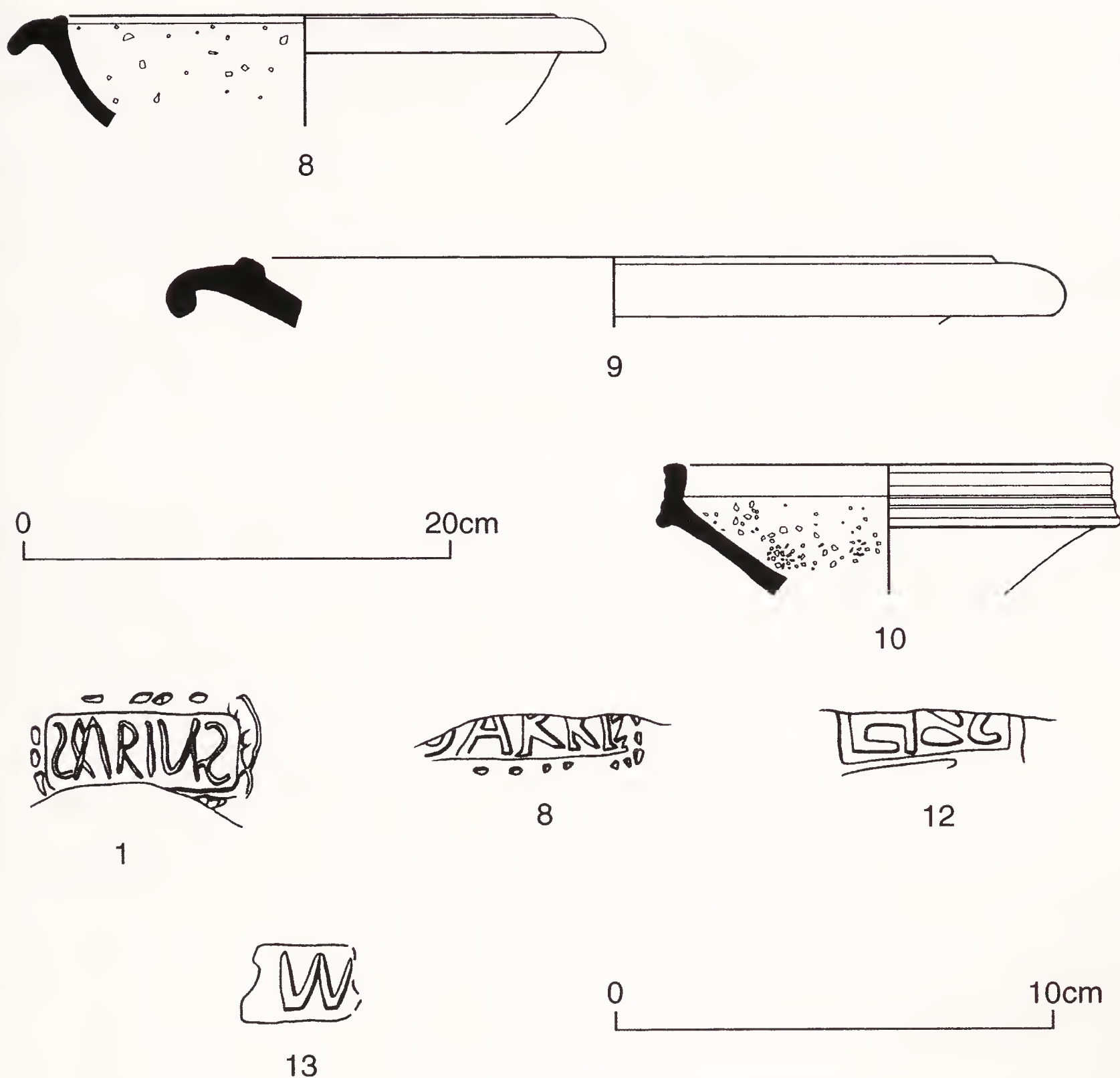


Fig. 27. Mortaria, nos 8–10. Scale 1:4. Mortarium stamps, nos 1–13. Scale 1:2.

17. A60
Large sherd in Fabric 6.

Comments

Nos. 14–16 are from three different mortaria in Fabric 6; on each sherd the left-facing stamp survives, and all are from the same die. Another sherd (found in 1960), also in Fabric 6, has an identical stamp. In all, four different mortaria with identical stamps were found during D. Charlesworth's excavations. Another from Aldborough is already published (Hartley 1971, fig. 18, no. 6, and 66–67) and there are stamps from the same die on six other mortaria from Aldborough, all old finds (unpublished), giving a total of eleven mortaria. Other mortaria with identical stamps have been recorded from Carlisle (2); Castleford; and York (2). Hartley 1971, fig. 18, no. 7 is from a different die, but probably by the same potter. All are in Fabric 6. The two mortaria from Aldborough published in Jones 1971 came from a 'watching brief' which exposed large quantities of pottery including distorted pottery and kiln debris (*ibid.*, 53–54). The bulk of this relatively

uncommon potter’s work is at Aldborough; this type of distribution is strongly indicative of local manufacture. The stamps do not permit a confident reading; only A and O are clear and it is possible to interpret them as NIATOR, NATOR or even VIATOR; the R is not certain on any impression and the T could be an almost straight C.

It seems likely that this potter should be equated with the VATOR, NATOR or VIATOR, whose work was found in the same deposit at Aldborough (Hartley 1971, fig. 18, nos. 1–5, and p. 66). However, all of these mortaria are in a cream fabric, with only one in the red fabric, and the associated rim profiles differ from those used with the above die. There is, therefore, reason for caution.

The rim-profiles associated with both dies would best fit a date in the period AD 100–140; mortaria with the second stamps mentioned (Hartley 1971, fig. 18, nos 1–5) from Bainbridge and Bowness-on-Solway (Potter 1979, fig. 142, no. 3 and fig. 139, no. 32) should date to this period and one from Vindolanda may do.

Discussion

The excavations produced 145 sherds available for study. These represent a total of at least ninety-three mortaria and probably more, stretching over the whole of the Roman occupation of Aldborough. Figure 26, No. 1 predates any other mortarium ever recorded from Aldborough. This Claudian or early Neronian wall-sided mortarium is certainly earlier than one would expect to find at Aldborough. It is, however, worth noting that a similar one was found at Castleford (Rush, Dickinson, Hartley and Hartley 2000, fig. 96, no. 114).

TABLE 4: Table of mortaria sources, dates and vessel numbers

Source	Date (AD)	Number
N. France/Rhineland	40–60	1
Rhône Valley	50–85	1
North France	50–85	1
Oise/Somme area, N. France (G238)	65–100	2
Oise/Somme area, N. France (G255)	140–180	2
Soller	140–300	4
Rhineland	140–300	2
Verulamium region (bodysherd)	70–130	1
Local and probably local	100–170	23
Malton area (Monaghan 3404)	180–250	1
Possibly local (no. 63)	third/fourth century	1
Mancetter-Hartshill	135/140–170	24
Mancetter-Hartshill	170/180–230/250	9
Mancetter-Hartshill	230/250–330+	8
Lower Nene Valley	230–400	3
Brampton, Norfolk	second century	1
Crambeck	280–350+	3
Crambeck	350–400	5
Uncertain (no. 64)	second century	1
Minimum TOTAL of vessels		93

In the Flavian period Aldborough was using more mortaria imported from sources in France than from the important potteries in the Verulamium region or any other sources in Britain. The sample shows five mortaria imported compared to one bodysherd of a

mortarium from the Verulamium region, which could be any date within the period AD 70–130. Six mortaria came from Lower Germany, within the period AD 140–300; this also is a relatively high number for a site in northern England. At Old Penrith only two mortaria out of 190 were from Rhineland sources (Austen 1991, 161, Fabrics 116–17; Gillam 255 is now known to come from Northern France). Although the sample is small this total does suggest that imports were important in this area, probably coming in at the Humber (Hartley 1998, 209); Rhineland imports were also notable at Malton (Wenham and Heywood 1997, 110). It is also worth noting that none of this, or of any other, assemblage from Aldborough has been directly attributed to York. York products tended to be distributed locally, but it is obviously to be expected that a few would reach Aldborough.

Some local production of mortaria could perhaps have occurred in the Flavian period, but there is as yet no obvious evidence for it. The excavations of M. U. Jones in 1964 (Hartley 1971, 64–67) did provide evidence for the local production of mortaria in two different fabrics in the second century; this did not go on later than *c.* AD 180 and may have ended well before that date. There is also some evidence to suggest that some potters working at Aldborough also had workshops at Castleford (Hartley 2000, 183–85 and 187). Miss Charlesworth's excavations produced second-century mortaria in a third fabric (Fabric 9), which can be attributed to a local source (Fig. 26, no. 5). A later mortarium, AD 250–400 (Fig. 27, no. 10), in Fabric 10, may be from a similar source, but only other finds could confirm this.

Five of the mortaria in this sample are undoubtedly of first-century date; at least fifty-one and possibly more are second-century, while fewer than thirty-six belong to the third and fourth centuries together. The most important single supplier appears to have been the Mancetter-Hartshill potteries supplying mortaria from AD 135/140–AD 330⁺. During parts of the second century, local workshops were important, possibly as important as the Mancetter industry. Most if not all local production ceased in the later part of the second century as in many areas. The Mancetter-Hartshill potteries were probably the main suppliers in the third century. Although their production continued after the early fourth century, sales on Hadrian's Wall appear to have ceased at some point in the early fourth century (Birdoswald: Wilmott 1997, 247–48). Aldborough is likely to have been similarly affected. The major change in suppliers at this time is also likely to be reflected in the supplies of BB1.

Whatever the circumstances of the changeover, there is no doubt that the new major suppliers were the Crambeck potteries in North Yorkshire. There is no evidence to show that their mortaria were in wide circulation as early as AD 280, but this is the accepted date for the beginning of the industry. It is likely enough that all eight of their mortaria in this sample are fourth century and perhaps also the three mortaria from the Lower Nene Valley.

COARSE WARE

Introduction

The excavations during the years 1959–61 and 1965–75 produced at least 209.70 kg of pottery. Some of this pottery is unstratified, but the majority of it comes from contexts about which little or nothing is known due to the scanty nature of the surviving records. Most information could be retrieved for the excavations of 1965, but even then only 3.758 kg out of 22.329 kg could be treated as stratified. This small group was the only one to be studied in detail, but the pottery from the other years was looked at to see the general make-up of the groups, and to note any pottery of interest, some of which has

been included in the catalogue (Figs 30–32). Statistics have been produced for the amphorae which were looked at as a group regardless of their stratification, but not for the catalogued stratified coarse ware as the group was so small as to make statistics meaningless.

Pottery from excavations during the 1930s and 1964 has already been published, including a group almost certainly from a local kiln (Myres *et al.* 1959, Jones 1971). Some of this pottery has already been discussed as dating evidence for the site phases (see above), after re-assessment made necessary by recent research refining the dating of certain fabrics or vessel types where possible.

FABRICS

The fabric type series lists only those fabrics illustrated and is not a complete list of all the fabrics recovered.

Fine wares

Cologne colour coated ware

Hunt cup: 2

Nene Valley colour coated ware

This ware first appears at York during Ceramic Period 2b, dated *c.* AD 160–200. In this period it made up approximately 2 per cent of the assemblage, rising to an average of *c.* 8 per cent in the third century (Monaghan 1997, 864, 893). A similar introduction date is likely for its appearance at Aldborough.

Beaker: 60

Lid: 56

Marbled ware

Bowl: 47

York red painted ware (YRP)

This was made at York in the Hadrianic-Antonine period. The examples illustrated are all Dr 37 copies, although flanged bowls are also known from the site (Myres *et al.* 1959, fig. 25, no. 35, Jones 1971, fig. 10, no. 92).

Bowl: 5, 19–20, 48

Crambeck painted parchment ware

Parchment ware may have been in production from the late third century, although perhaps originally restricted to mortaria. The painted parchment ware did not appear until the AD 350s (see Bidwell and Croom 1997, 88–90).

Beaker: 32

Jar: 33

Bowl: 40–42

Hemispherical flanged bowl: 44

Crambeck painted red ware

At present there is no clear dating for the start of painted decoration on the red ware, but it is unlikely to be any earlier than the painted parchment ware, *i.e.* AD 350s.

Bowl: 53–54

TN

For a discussion of TN in Yorkshire, see Rigby 1993.

Cam 58: 43

Eggshell TN

Cam 120: 31

Oxidised ware:

Aldborough oxidised ware

See under Aldborough reduced ware

Oxidised ware 1 (OW1)

As GW2. Often with grey core.

Carinated bowl: 50

Unclassified oxidised wares

Flagon: 29–30

Beaker: 15

Jar: 3

Bowl: 12, 18, 22

Spouted segmental bowl: 24, 55

Painted: 26, 59

Reduced wares:

Aldborough reduced ware: kiln fabric

A watching brief in 1964 produced a quantity of pottery that probably came from a nearby kiln (Jones 1971, 53–54; 59–60), and material from this collection was studied to see if any of the pottery from the 1961 and 1965 excavations was made of the same fabric. The fabric is very similar to that of the grey wares considered to be from kilns in the Yorkshire area and there is very little to distinguish them; it is a hard, fine grey fabric with fine quartz inclusions. The kiln products have, in addition, minute voids in the fabric that can look like inclusions, and soft black inclusions, which can be plentiful and quite large. A lid waster, with plentiful soft black inclusions, also has occasional large white inclusions.

The fabric is also found in an oxidised version, with the inclusions more often appearing as red/dark brown. Flagons in particular are made of this fabric, and often also have fine white inclusions; they frequently have dark grey cores and a white, often thick, slip.

Reeded rimmed bowl: 46

Grey ware 1 (GW1)

Hard, often highly fired gritty grey fabric, with plentiful opaque white inclusions and frequently a pimply surface. The white inclusions can sometimes be leached out, leaving a pitted surface. Some vessels have burnished decoration.

Cooking pot: 1

Jar: 34

Rusticated jar: 37

Grey ware 2 (GW2)

Fine grey fabric that can vary from soft to highly fired. Usually with few inclusions, though it can have fine black inclusions. Sometimes it also has opaque white inclusions,

which can be plentiful as with GW₁, but is much finer. Similar to RW₁ at Malton (Bidwell and Croom 1997, 68). There is only a single example of this fabric (a lid) in the Aldborough kiln material and it is unlikely to have been a kiln product.

Cooking pot: 11

Jar: 8, 38

Bowl: 23

Cup: 49, 61, 62

Black burnished ware fabric 1 (BB₁)

The main forms in use were cooking pots with acute angle lattice, flat rimmed bowls and plain rimmed dishes. It would appear that the later BB₁ forms are not as common, as is also the case at York and Malton. From previous excavations there is a possible BB₁ cooking pot with obtuse angle lattice, and a flat rimmed bowl with groove (Myres *et al.* 1959, 35 and fig. 11, no. 15).

Cooking pot: 6, 7

Flat rimmed dish: 9, 10

Triple vase: 39

North Gaulish grey ware

The *vase tronconique* is most common at York during the first half of the second century (Monaghan 1993, 717).

Vase tronconique: 16, 35

Jar: 36

East Yorkshire grey ware

This term is used here to describe only the white or very pale grey fabric with mid-grey surfaces. This was in production from the late third century until the end of the Roman period.

Flanged bowl: 13, 51

Plain rimmed dish: 14

Calcite gritted ware

There are a few examples of Knapton ware as well as fourth-century forms.

Reeded rimmed bowl: 45

Lid: 57

Sandy grey ware

Bowl/dish: 52

Native

Cooking pot: 4

Unclassified reduced wares

Neckless jar: 17

Bowl with upturned rim: 21

Stamped: 25, 27

Head pot: 58

Other

Chimney pot: 28

Native or post Roman

Cooking pot: 63

CATALOGUE

The entries consist of vessel description, fabric type and context number (where known). 'U' denotes 'unstratified'. The final number in brackets, where present, is the English Heritage accession number.

1965 excavations

First timber phase

1. Cooking pot, slightly warped rim. GW1. 15.

Pre-wall

2. Hunt cup. Cologne. Mid-Antonine to late Antonine. 46 (88074917).
3. Triangular rimmed jar. Sandy orange fabric. 51.

Wall foundation

4. Cooking pot. Hand-made native ware, micaceous buff fabric with large quartz inclusions and dark grey surfaces. 49 (88074836).
5. Bowl. YRP. 49 (88074836).

Bank (unphased)

6. Cooking pot. BB1. 11 (88079920).
7. Cooking pot. BB1. 19 (88074902).
8. Jar, burnished on exterior and onto the interior of the rim. GW2. 19 (88074902).
9. Flat rimmed dish. BB1. 11 (88079920).
10. Flat rimmed dish. BB1. 11 (88079920).

Outer ditch

11. Cooking pot. GW2, with plentiful white inclusions. Such double lid-seated jars in calcite or grit tempered wares are generally dated to the fourth century (Darling 1977, 31). 18.
12. Bowl. Soft orange, slightly micaceous fabric with fine dark and occasional white inclusions and a grey core. ?Aldborough oxidised ware. Cf. Jones 1971, fig. 13, nos 135–39. 18.
13. Conical flanged bowl. East Yorkshire GW, Corder 1937 type 1. 18.
14. Plain rimmed dish. East Yorkshire GW, Corder 1937 type 2. 18.

Unstratified

15. Beaker with incised comb and compass-drawn decoration. Fine orange fabric with grey core, burnt. The semi-circles and vertical lines appear to have been executed with a four-toothed comb, producing two deep and two shallow grooves. Compass-drawn decoration is usually found on reduced wares such as London ware, and then generally only on samian imitation bowls or on flasks rather than beakers. There is a dark band between the rim and shoulder which may be a band of dark red paint, or perhaps the remains of a wash. ?Late first or early second century. U (88065682).
16. *Vase tronconique*. North Gaulish GW. For other examples from Aldborough see Myres *et al.* 1959, fig. 25, nos 28–29. Cf. Tuffreau-Libre 1980, fig. 84, nos 3–4. U.
17. Neckless jar. Dark grey fabric, pale margins and mid-grey surfaces, with occasional fine black and white inclusions. Pre-Flavian or Flavian in date (Greene 1993, 34, type 17). U.
18. Hemispherical bowl, hard fine orange fabric, burnished on exterior, slightly burnt. Probably made in York, where this type of Dr 37 imitation with grooves on the body is quite common. Cf. York: Perrin 1990, fig. 113, nos 1211–13 (Eboracum ware); fig. 125, nos 1398–1402 (YRP). 57 (88074922).
19. Bowl. YRP. 60.
20. Bowl, burnt. YRP. 35.

21. Bowl. Highly fired fine buff fabric with black inclusions smeared by burnishing. 1 (88074911).
22. Hemispherical bowl. Hard fine orange fabric, wide grey core, burnished in bands on the exterior. 42.
23. Carinated bowl. GW2. Cf. York: Monaghan 1993, fig. 294, no. 2943. At York this form of bowl is typically second century. S.
24. Spouted segmental bowl, an imitation of the first-century samian form Ritterling 12. Hard fine orange fabric, burnished in bands on the exterior wall. One sherd burnt. 53, U (88074923).
25. Body sherd of fine grey fabric, with burnished silky exterior. Stamped decoration. For other stamped pottery from Aldborough, see Charlesworth 1965. U (78108000).
26. Painted body sherd. Slightly gritty orange fabric with quartz inclusions, with remains of brown ?wash on exterior and white painted decoration. 5.
27. Body sherd buff fabric with one large opaque white inclusion. There is a burnished band between the two rows of stamps. U (78108001).
28. Chimney pot. Micaceous orange fabric with large red and small white inclusions, and paler surfaces. Knife incised decoration, with part of a window surviving. S.

1959, 1960 and 1961 excavations

All the pottery from 1959 is unstratified whilst that from 1960 has letter codes, the meaning of which is now lost. The entry 'U', often followed by the trench number (a Roman numeral) denotes 'unstratified'. Some of the contexts of 1961 have been identified, and in these cases the relevant information follows the context number, but all other entries with 1961 contexts must now be considered unstratified.

29. Flagon. OW1. A61/12 (lowest level, below building; 81418020).
30. Flagon. Slightly micaceous orange fabric, with occasional fine dark inclusions and slightly darker surfaces. A60/E (81418088).
31. Biconical beaker, *Cam* 120. Cf. York: Monaghan 1993, fig. 287, no. 2811; p. 727–28. Pre-Flavian/Flavian. Eggshell TN. A61/9 (81418017).
32. Beaker. Crambeck painted parchment ware. A59 (88074846).
33. Jar, with one surviving handle. Crambeck painted parchment ware. A59 (88074846).
34. Jar, with burnished lines. This vessel is an imitation of the North Gaulish *vase tronconique* as no. 35 below. At York over half the sherds from this form of vessel were considered to be imitations (Monaghan 1993, 717). A61/9 (88074889).
35. *Vase tronconique*. Cf. Tuffreau-Libre 1980, type IId, fig. 33, no. 1, second century. North Gaulish GW. A61/9 (88065667, 88065671).
36. Jar. Cf. Tuffreau-Libre 1980, type Va, fig. 31, no. 2, second century. North Gaulish GW. A61/U V (81418015).
37. Rusticated jar. GW1, with a darker surface on the exterior extending over the rim slightly to the interior. A61/12 (lowest level, below building; 81418020).
38. Jar, with remains of burnished exterior up to the top of the rim. GW2. A60 (81418088).
39. Triple vase. Only two of the jars have lattice decoration, while the base of one of them has a burnished cross. BB1. A61/4 (rubble, post-dating building; 78108265).
- 40–42. Bowls. Crambeck painted parchment ware. The form of these bowls is known from the Crambeck kiln site only in grey ware, but a painted parchment ware example is known from Malton (Corder 1930a, fig. 21, no. 5). A59 (88074846).
43. Hemispherical flanged bowl, *Cam* 58. TN. A61/U (81418009).
44. Hemispherical flanged bowl. Crambeck painted parchment ware, Corder 1937, type 5b. A59 (88074846).
45. Reeded rimmed bowl. Calcite gritted ware. Cf. Scarborough: bowl with a grooved flange: Hull 1932, fig. 13, no. 4. A61/U II (81418011).
46. Reeded rimmed carinated bowl. Aldborough reduced ware. Slightly deformed rim, and fingermarks on the exterior. A61/12 (lowest level, below building; 81418020).
47. Bowl. Marbled ware, in hard, slightly coarse cream fabric, with pink core and orange/brown mottling. A61/27, 62 ('dirty sand' level; 88074830, 81418018).

48. Small hemispherical bowl. YRP. A61/9 (81418017).
49. Cup, burnished on exterior and interior. GW2. At least six other examples of this type of cup have come from the 1961 excavations, all in GW2 (most with burnishing on interior only). Dr 33 imitations in grey ware are not particularly common; see discussion below. Cf. Myres *et al.* 1959, 36, and fig. 10, no. 21. A61/U (81418007, 81418009).
50. Plain rimmed carinated bowl. OW1. A61/12 (lowest level, below building; 81418020).
51. Conical flanged bowl with two internal wavy lines. East Yorkshire grey ware, Corder 1937 type 1b. A60/K (88074843).
52. Bowl or dish, highly burnished on interior and outer edge of rim. Sandy grey ware. Cf. Malton: Bidwell and Croom 1997, fig. 23, no. 47. A61/12 (lowest level, below building; 81418020).
53. Bowl, burnished in bands, with white paint decoration. Crambeck painted red ware. A61/U (81418009).
54. Bowl or platter, burnished in bands, with white paint decoration. Burnt. Crambeck painted red ware. A61/U (81418009).
55. Segmental spouted bowl, with the bead trailed over the flange after the fashion of the samian Ritterling 12 form. Sandy orange fabric with occasional soft dark inclusions and partial remains of a burnished surface. A61/39.
56. Lid. Nene Valley. Howe, Perrin and Mackreth 1980 type 89. A61/26 (78108275).
57. Lid. Calcite gritted ware. A61/12 (lowest level, below building; 81418020).
58. Head pot body sherd, embossed stamp. Late third or fourth century. GW2. Cf. Jones 1971, fig. 14, no. 157. A61/2 (debris within building; 81418009).
59. Painted body sherd from near base of closed vessel which has been knife-trimmed. Hard, slightly coarse orange fabric with fine black inclusions and white painted decoration. A60/A (81418088).

Pottery already published from the 1961 excavations includes two stamped sherds, one of Parisian ware and one of an uncertain fabric (Charlesworth 1965, figs 1–2). The stamp on the sherd of Parisian ware (*ibid.*, fig. 1) can be paralleled on a cup of similar shape from Greta Bridge (Croom and Bidwell 1998, fig. 22, no. 44) and on a beaker from Harpham (Elsdon 1982, fig. 52, fig. 11, no. 100). Elsdon dates this ‘later Parisian ware’ to the early second and third century.

The second vessel is described as being similar in fabric to Parisian ware and is in fact a beaker of the most common form used for the later ware (*ibid.*, fig. 2). The bird stamp, however, is unique. Parisian ware stamps are usually abstract patterns of fern leaves, but more exotic forms are not unknown; a fragmentary stamp from Lincoln shows the legs of a human figure (*ibid.*, fig. 7, no. 117) and an embossed stamp from Rossington Bridge is in the form of a simplified bird (*ibid.*, fig. 9, no. 30).

Ditch fill, 1935 excavations

See Myres *et al.* 1959, figs 11–12, 27.

60. Body sherd from beaker with phallus, orange colour coat. Nene Valley. Cf. Monaghan 1997, fig. 391, no. 3878 (88065670).
61. Cup. Dr 33 imitation. GW2 (88065670).
62. Cup base. Dr 33 imitation. GW2 (88065670).

Native or post-Roman

63. Cooking pot. Hand-made, black gritty fabric. A square rim is found on late pre-Roman cooking pots in hand-made calcite gritted ware (Bidwell and Croom 1997, 99) but is also found during the Roman period and continues into the sub- or post-Roman period (Malton: Holdsworth 1997, fig. 41, no. 14, fifth to sixth century; York: Monaghan 1997, fig. 342, no. 3237, possibly fifth century). A61/U XI (unstratified).

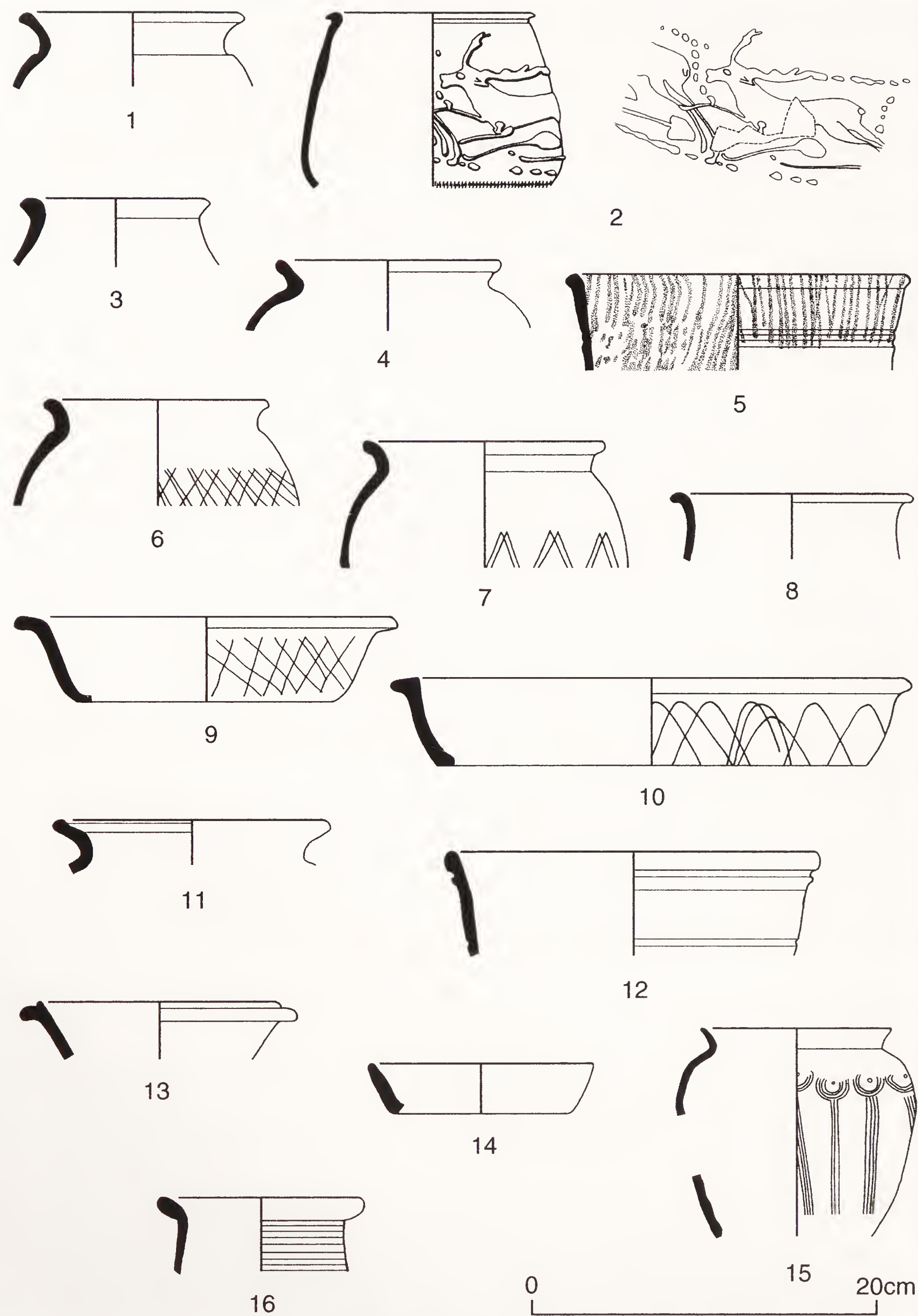


Fig. 28. Coarse ware, nos 1-16. Scale 1:4.

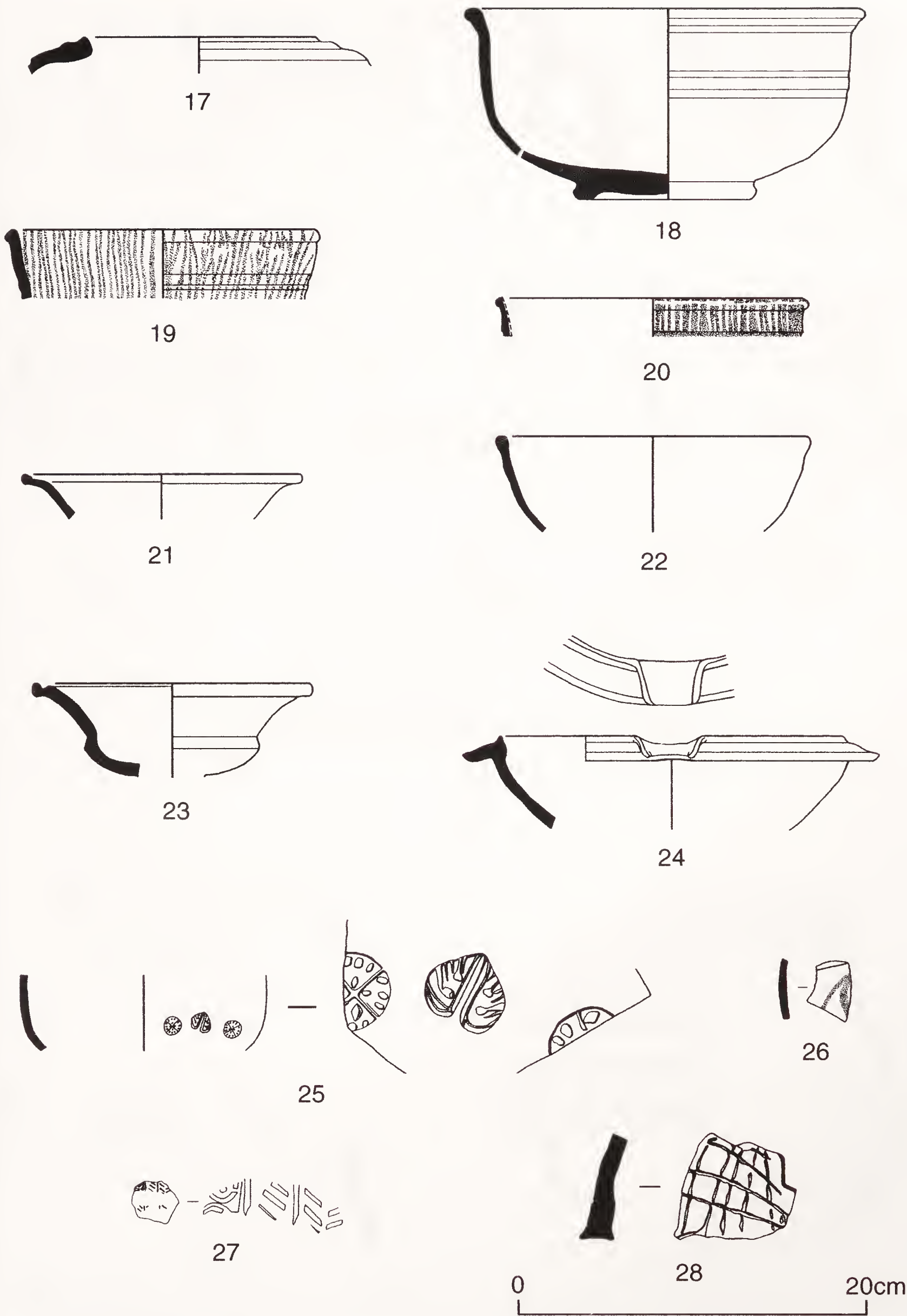


Fig. 29. Coarse ware, nos 17–28. Scale 1:4, details of nos 25 and 27 at scale 1:1.

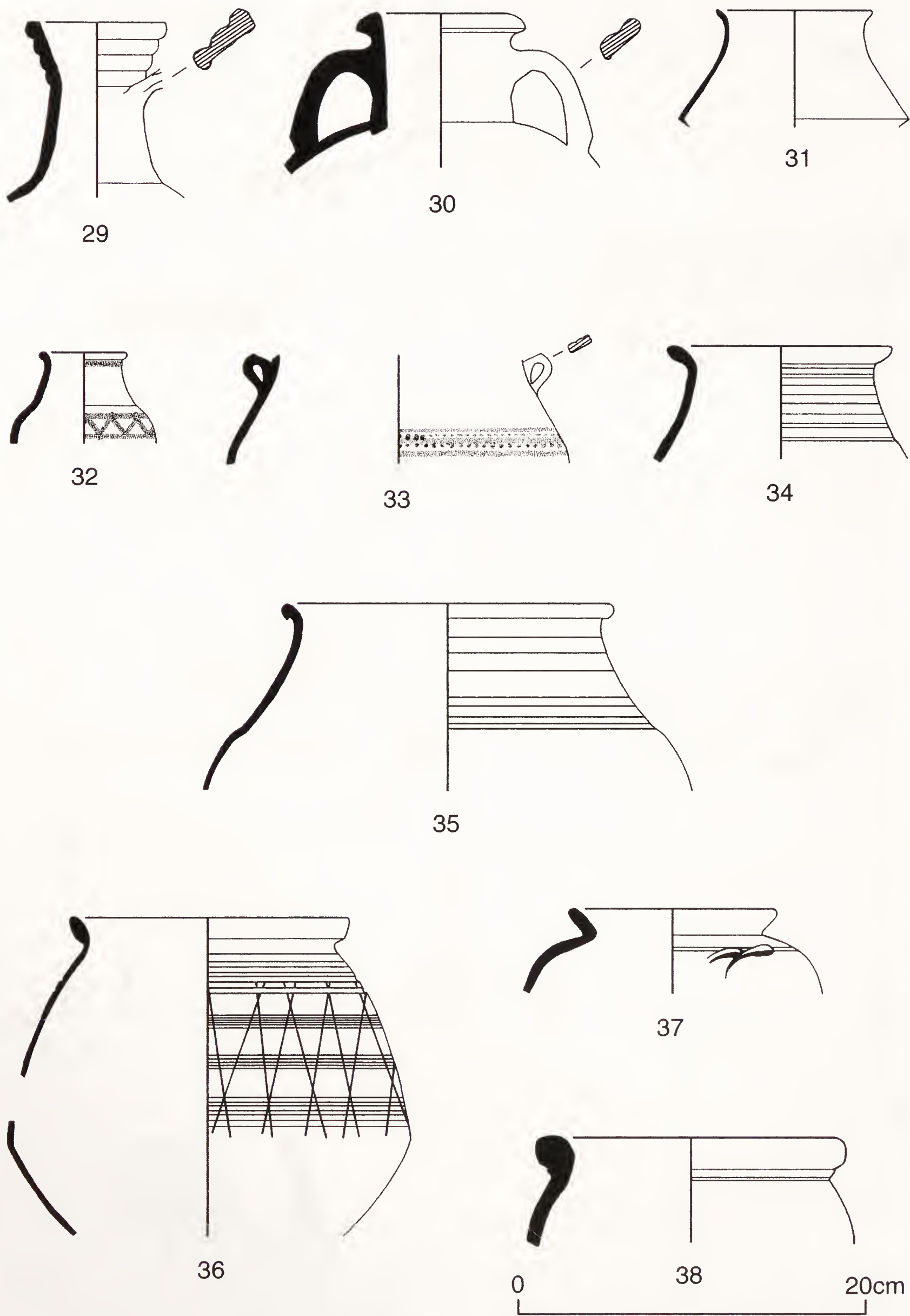


Fig. 30. Coarse ware, nos 29-38. Scale 1:4.

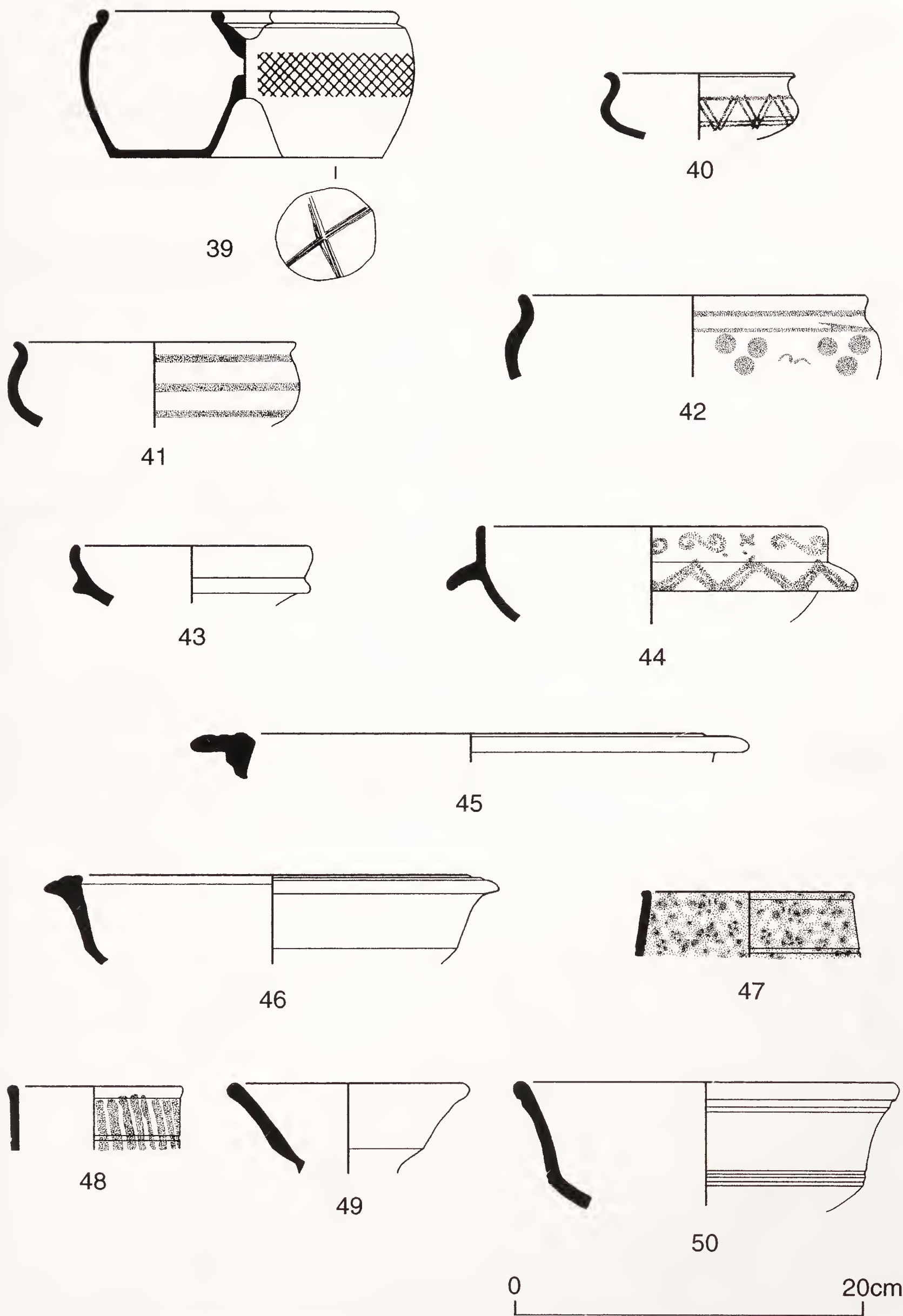


Fig. 31. Coarse ware, nos 39–50. No. 39 includes a view of the base of the pot. Scale 1:4.

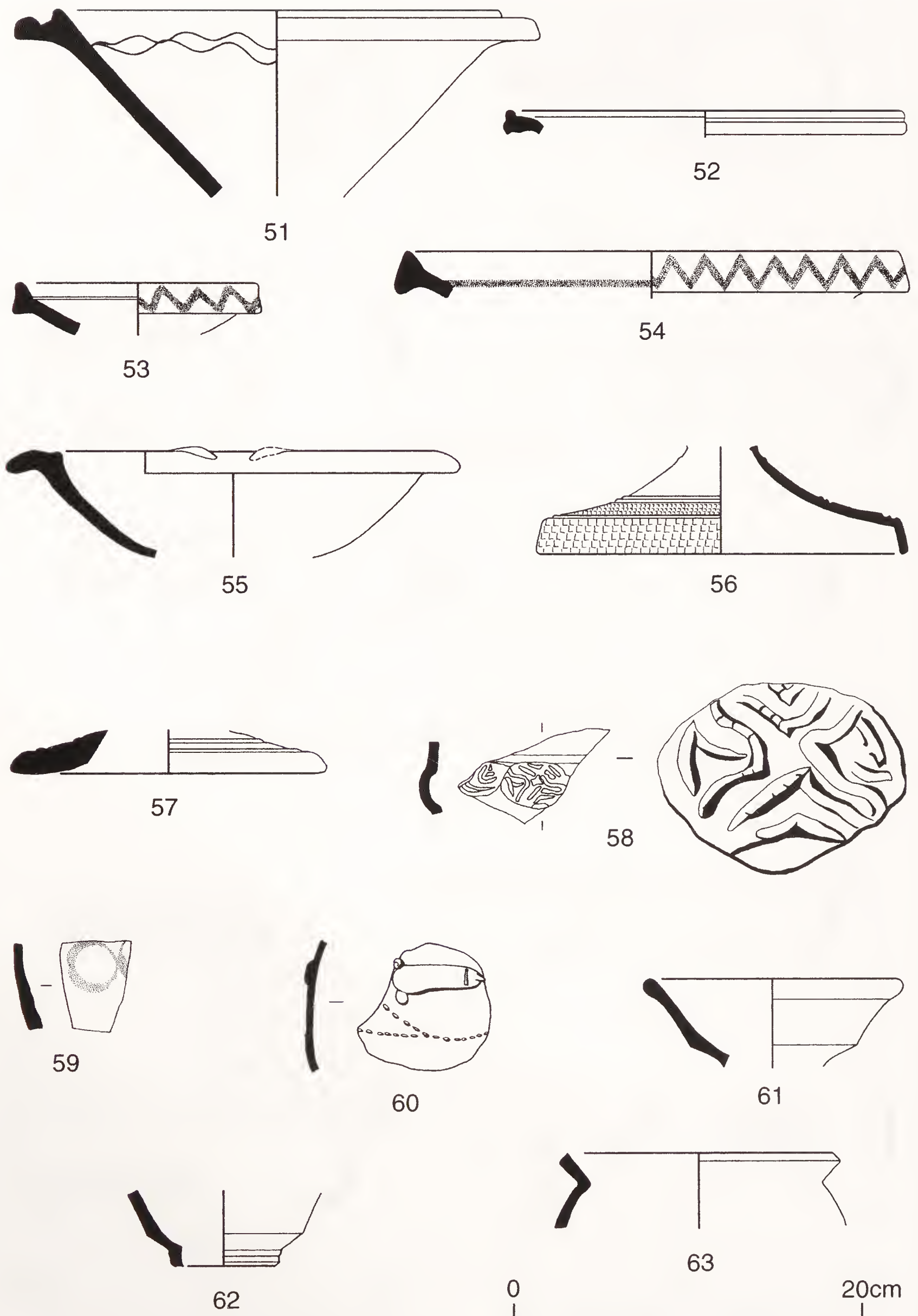


Fig. 32. Coarse ware, nos 51-63. Scale 1:4, detail of no. 58, scale 1:1.

Discussion

Pre-Flavian and Flavian pottery

The earliest pottery from the site is pre-Flavian in date. There is a wall-sided mortarium of a type dated by K. Hartley to *c.* AD 40–60 (Fig. 26, no. 1) and a Dr 25 sherd (Myres *et al.* 1959, 52), a samian form generally pre-Flavian in date in Britain. There is also a *Cam* 58 bowl in *terra nigra* ware (Fig. 31, no. 43), a type dated to the Claudian-Neronian period (Greene 1979, 114). Only one *Cam* 58 is known from York, where the *Cam* 16 platter, the characteristic TN form of early military sites in the area, is more common (Rigby 1993, 726–27). These three vessels are presumably survivals not brought to the site until the later part of the century.

Both the pottery and the small finds from Aldborough show that there was first-century occupation on the site, and it has been assumed that this would be a military fort, whose suggested dating is currently *c.* AD 85–122/30 (Bishop 1996, 1). As the kiln at Aldborough did not start production until sometime in the period AD 95–140, other military sites must have supplied Aldborough with pottery during the first century since there was no major native pottery industry in the area. York may have been a supplier, since it was producing pottery at this time for its own needs, but other, unknown sources are possible. At Blake Street, York, during period 2 (*c.* AD 71/79–100), the dominant coarse ware fabric was Eboracum ware, but 8 per cent of the assemblage was still made up of unidentified local fabrics (Monaghan 1993, 687).

The fine ware of this period was imported, and at Aldborough included pottery of either pre-Flavian or Flavian date such as Lyon ware, Pompeian red ware and *terra nigra*. The Lyon ware is a sherd from a roughcast beaker from the 1965 excavations (context 57, now unstratified) and a sherd residual in the rampart bank excavated in 1935 (88065730, unpublished). There are sherds from three different platters in Pompeian red ware, in fabrics 3, 4 and 6 (Peacock 1977; sherds all now unstratified, 1961 and 1965 excavations), fabric 6 being the most common type of Pompeian red ware found at York (Perrin 1981, 57). A carinated beaker in eggshell TN (Fig. 30, no. 31) is dated to the Neronian or early Flavian period (Greene 1979, 120).

Late first century and second century

The reeded rimmed bowl in calcite gritted ware possibly belongs to the late first or early second century (Fig. 31, no. 45). This ware was made in the area in the late Iron Age in a limited range of forms, but imitations of Roman vessel forms are found on many of the early Roman settlements in the area (Bidwell and Croom 1997, 99). This vessel could be an imitation of the reeded rimmed bowls first produced in the Flavian period, but whose manufacture and use was on the wane in the north from the time of Hadrian onwards. Although there is no close parallel for this bowl, it is clear that while calcite gritted ware had a narrow range of frequently produced forms, there was a sizeable range of more unusual imitations including a bowl or dish with a footring (Malton, context MA 5 43/1, unpublished), a flagon (Scarborough: Hull 1932, fig. 13, no. 7), a 'smith' pot with applied tridents (Norton: Hayes 1988, fig. 51, no. 1) and even a mortarium form (Scarborough: Hull 1933, pl. ii, no. 12).

The kiln at Aldborough was in production sometime during the period AD 95–140. It produced jars with everted rims, reeded rimmed bowls, lids, flagons, mortaria, and possibly platters (Jones 1971, fig. 13, nos 123–51, fig. 18). The bowls, jars and lids were made in grey ware and probably also in an oxidised ware, and are difficult to distinguish from other local products. Imitations of BB1 forms were produced by the local industries, as at Malton.

There were clearly trading links with York in the second century. A number of vessels in red painted ware, made at York itself, have been found at Aldborough (Fig. 28 no. 5, Fig. 29, nos 19–20, Fig. 31, no. 48), as well as several North Gaulish grey ware vessels (Fig. 26, no. 16, Fig. 30, nos 35–36). This contrasts with Malton, where both these wares are rare.

Third century

Sometime in the late second or third century a local workshop produced grey ware imitations of Dr 33 cups. At least ten examples from Aldborough are known, most of which are unstratified, although some are known from the fill of the ditch (Myres *et al.* 1959, 36, and fig. 10, no. 21; and Fig. 31, no. 49, Fig. 32, nos 61–62). Dr 33 was the most common samian cup form in the mid-second to late second century, but continued to be made into the third century, although the imitations from Aldborough that can be given a context are associated with third-century and fourth-century material. Very few examples are known from other sites in the area, particularly in a reduced fabric; one was found at the third-century to fourth-century kilns at Throlam, but it does not appear to have been made on the site (Corder 1930b, frontispiece).

There is at least one example of the North African style casserole found in some numbers at York, dated to the late second/early third century (1965 excavations, unstratified). Much of the grey ware comes from the local anonymous sources, probably including Norton, but by the late third century Crambeck ware begins to appear, which develops to become the main coarse ware supplier in the region (Fig. 28, nos 13–14).

Fourth century

Calcite gritted ware does not appear to be as common at any period at Aldborough as it was at York or Malton, which is reflected by the low numbers of Huntcliff type rims in the fourth-century deposits. The 1930s excavation report mentions only five examples (Myres *et al.* 1959, 58, not illustrated), while the 1964 excavation report has only one illustration, incorporating sherds from several different vessels (Jones 1971, fig. 12, no. 115).

The site produced a number of examples of Crambeck painted ware, dated AD 350+ (Bidwell and Croom 1997, 89–90), including some unusual forms (Fig. 30, nos 32–33). Examples were found in the fill of a late ditch within the town walls (Myres *et al.* 1959, 15) and in the fill of the inner ditch at the south wall (Jones 1971, fig. 12, no. 122). An East Yorkshire grey ware flanged bowl with internal wavy lines (Fig. 32, no. 51) shows that the site continued after AD 360, as also suggested by the coin evidence.

THE HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS FROM THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1967

By Joy Langston

Summary

The human skeletal elements from two separate contexts are discussed. These were found to comprise the partial remains of two individuals — a male (aged in the early to mid-forties at death) and an adult (post-mid-twenties) of unknown sex and represented by a single bone.

Severe degenerative joint disease of the spine was observed in the male, with minor changes also visible at the shoulder. Minor enamel hypoplasia was noted in the incisors and canines (upper and lower) of the male, but no definitive statements can be made regarding dental health due to the lack of surviving teeth.

Introduction

Two separate sets of human bone were presented for examination and analysis. No. 1 (accession number 861749) is fairly complete with bones from the upper and lower limbs, spine and skull being preserved. No. 2 (accession number 866846) consists of only a single complete upper limb bone.

Number of individuals

It is perhaps worth noting that the well-preserved condition of the single ulna suggests that there are probably other remains of this skeleton in another context, as it is highly unlikely that this is the only bone to survive burial. This accords well with the known clustering of burials outside the town wall and the disturbance to the remains likely to have been caused by nineteenth-century excavation (Smith 1852, 21).

Sex

The larger context contained bones allowing analysis of sexual morphology. Cranial and pelvic features indicate that the individual No. 1 was male. The sex of the individual to whom the single ulna belongs is unknown although stature calculations indicate an *in-vivo* height of between 170–174 cm (Trotter and Gleser 1977); this greater size may *possibly* indicate a male individual although this is by no means certain.

Age at death

Techniques established by Brothwell (1981), Krogman (1962), Lovejoy *et al.* (1985) and Meindl *et al.* (1985), were used in analysis of pelvic and dental remains. The male individual (No. 1) died in his early to mid-forties (by dental and auricular surface analysis). The single ulna (No. 2) has fully fused epiphyses and comes from an adult — no closer estimation of age is possible.

Pathology

No. 1 has severe pathological changes in the spine relating to degenerative joint disease affecting the vertebrae. The cervical and upper/mid-thoracic vertebrae all show gross alteration of the facet joints with eburnation, marginal lipping and porosity of the bone. The lower thoracic vertebrae show severe osteophytosis with fusion of T8 and 9. The vertebrae from T12 to L2 are missing but, perhaps surprisingly, the lower lumbar vertebrae show only minor changes. The degeneration of the joints and bones of the upper back and neck must have caused severe pain and loss of function; again the severity of the changes indicates long standing problems. This is reinforced by the Schmorl's nodes visible in the thoracic spine: Knowles (1983) thinks these lesions are associated with heavy workloads from an early age causing the intervertebral discs to deform the still plastic surfaces of the developing spinal bone. Small pits are also visible in the posterior surface of the vertebral bodies from T5 to T10. The reason for these lesions is unknown: they may be abrasion features related to the porosity of the bone causing further damage around the margins of existing Schmorl's nodes, or they could be caused by an unknown destructive pathological process. They are unlikely to be due to tubercular infection given their position in the bone and their microscopic appearance. This skeleton also showed degenerative changes at the shoulder joint with marginal lipping around the glenoid fossa of the scapula.

Dental pathology

The teeth of No. 1 have severe attrition, moderate alveolar recession around the molar teeth, and minor enamel hypoplasia. This latter condition causes pitting and striation of

the enamel and is thought to be due to high temperatures in childhood fevers affecting the crystalline structure of the developing crowns (Neiburger 1990). There is no evidence of caries, calculus or abscesses but this may be a feature of the paucity of remains rather than good dental health.

CATALOGUE OF BONES PRESENT

Abbreviations and conventions used:

cm: centimetre

c.: circa

g: grams

Dental recording:

5, 6 etc: tooth present

/: post-mortem loss

-: bone of maxilla/mandible missing

Vertebrae:

C: cervical

T: thoracic

L: lumbar

No. 1

Right humerus — head and shaft fragment (30 cm).

Left humerus — shaft fragment only (28.4 cm).

Right ulna — distal end and shaft fragment (23.2 cm).

Left ulna — abraded proximal end and shaft (24.4 cm) (complete length *c.* 27 cm).

Metacarpal — right second.

(There are no radii or small bones of the hand present in this context.)

Right clavicle — complete 14.6 cm (sternal end fused).

Left clavicle — acromial end and shaft fragment (8.5 cm).

Right and left scapulae — fragments of glenoid fossa, acromion, coracoid and wing (right slightly more complete). Marginal lipping of glenoid on both, more marked on right.

Right femur — head and greater trochanter missing, condyles abraded (length 41.5 cm). There is abrasion and loss of cortical bone on the shaft but this does not appear to be pathological.

Left femur — head, greater and lesser trochanters missing, condyles as a separate fragment (shaft 39 cm). Similar loss of cortex and abrasion.

Right tibia — complete with minor abrasion proximally and distally (35.7 cm).

Right fibula — distal end and shaft fragment (30.4 cm).

Left fibula — fragment of distal end (10.8 cm). No articular surface remains (abraded).

Pelvic remains:

Left ilium — fragment of part acetabulum and part auricular surface.

Right ilium — part auricular surface only.

Vertebrae:

C1 — complete.

C2 — osteophyte on odontoid peg. Right inferior facet has marginal lipping and porosity of articular surface. Inferior body surface also showing porosity.

C3 — right superior and right and left inferior facets have gross changes: lipping, porosity and areas of eburnation on inferior facets. Body has minor porosity and very minor osteophytosis.

C4 — missing.

C5 — left superior, and left and right inferior facets have small areas of eburnation but few other changes. Body has severe porosity and moderate osteophytosis along the inferior rim.

C6 — right superior facet has minor lipping and a small area of eburnation whilst right inferior

facet has severe changes with lipping, porosity and eburnation. The body shows severe porosity with moderate osteophytosis along the superior and inferior rims and small areas of eburnation. C7 — the superior and inferior facets all show gross changes with porosity, lipping and areas of eburnation.

T1 — fragment of spinous process only. Left superior facet has lipping, porosity and eburnation.

T2 — all facets are porotic with lipped margins, and there is eburnation on the right superior. The body has minor osteophytosis and a small Schmorl's node on the inferior surface.

T3 — all the facets show severe changes with lipping, porosity and eburnation. The body is abraded.

T4 — all the facet joints show severe changes as above (lipping, porosity and eburnation). The body has minor osteophytosis along the inferior rim.

T5 — moderate changes on all facet joints: small area of eburnation on the left superior facet but porosity and lipping not as severe as above. Body has abraded rims and small destructive lesion in superior surface.

T6 — minor lipping in superior and inferior facets. Body has moderate osteophytosis and marked porosity of the inferior surface.

T7 — superior and inferior facets have minor lipping, most marked in left inferior facet where changes are more moderate. The superior surface of the body shows areas of severe porosity / possible destructive pathology.

T8 & 9 — fused across body and facet joints. Severe osteophytosis superior rim of T8 enclosing inferior T7 (but no fusion). Inferior surface of T9 has Schmorl's node. Left inferior facet joint of T9 has moderate lipping (others have only very minor lipping).

T10 — facet joints have only minor lipping apart from right inferior which has moderate lipping. Body has severe osteophytosis on the right inferior rim and ?Schmorl's nodes / destructive pathology in both superior and inferior surfaces.

T11 — right superior facet has moderate lipping and small area of eburnation (other facets only minor lipping). Body abraded but severe osteophytosis on right superior rim.

T12 to L2 — missing.

L3 — spinous and vertebral processes only. Minor lipping and small area of eburnation on right inferior facet.

L4 — body missing and facets very abraded. Moderate lipping visible on right and left superior facets.

L5 — body missing, facets abraded but no changes visible.

Rib fragments:

8 x midshaft.

Right first and second ribs.

Vertebral ends x 11 (seven right and four left side). Minor lipping around articular margins but no severe degenerative changes.

Skull fragments:

Parts of left and right parietal, occiput, left and right temporals, frontal, left and right zygomatic and left and right maxilla.

Dental remains

Maxilla

Left 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 Right

Mandible

Left ? 7 6 5 4 / / / 1 / 3 4 5 6 7 ? Right

Presence/absence of 8s in mandible is unknown as the bone has not been X-rayed. There are no caries and no evidence of calculus. Very minor enamel hypoplasia is visible on the lower medial incisor and right canine, and the left and right upper incisors (medial and lateral) and canines.

Moderate alveolar recession is visible around the upper molars, and to a lesser degree in the lower jaw.

Attrition is severe in both maxilla and mandible, notably on the upper left six and lower right six — both have asymmetric wear and complete loss of enamel rim around dentine.

Conclusions

Sex

Male. Skull features (brow ridge, occipital crest, mastoid processes, mandible and maxilla), pelvic features (acetabular diameter and sciatic notch), and large bones with strong muscle attachments all indicate a male individual. *In-vivo* stature calculations using Trotter and Gleser's formulae (1977) suggest a height of between 168.3 cm (tibia) and 175 cm (ulna), of which the former is likely to be more accurate as more reliance can be placed on values calculated from lower limb bones.

Age at death

Molar attrition is consistent with that noted in age at death of *c.* 33–45 years (Brothwell 1981). The morphology on the auricular surfaces indicates an age at death of 40–45 years, suggesting this person died in his early / mid forties (Lovejoy *et al.* 1985).

Pathology

Very severe degenerative changes are visible in the spine of this individual which would have caused a great deal of pain with restricted movement and function. They are most severe in the cervical and upper thoracic vertebrae where many bones show eburnation of the joint surfaces, but severe changes in the lower thoracic region are evident in the fused vertebrae (T8 and 9) and more advanced osteophytosis of the vertebral body rims. A number of vertebral bodies in the mid-thoracic area (T5–10) also have lesions on the surface of the body; abrasion makes it difficult to make a secure diagnosis but these would appear to be either large Schmorl's nodes or a more destructive pathological process. Less severe changes are indicative of osteo-arthritic changes in the shoulder joints (more severe on the right). Other articular surfaces which have survived show few if any degenerative changes, with nothing being visible at the knee or ankle, elbow or wrist.

Bone weights

Skull fragments 258 g

Mandible/maxilla/teeth 160 g

Clavicle and ribs 198 g

Scapular fragments 112 g

Vertebrae 357 g

Pelvic fragments 136 g

Humeri 300 g

Ulnae 100 g

Femora 720 g (distal and proximal ends in poor state — no solid cortex)

Tibia and fibular fragments 270 g

Total: 2611 g

No. 2

Left ulna — complete (apart from styloid process) 26.2 cm

There is minor abrasion but no evidence of degenerative joint disease or any other pathology apart from a cragginess around the tendon insertion at the top of the olecranon.

Sex: Unknown. Stature calculations from the ulna are not the most reliable but *in-vivo* statures of 174 cm (if male) or 170 cm (if female) (Trotter and Gleser 1977) indicate an individual of greater height and therefore perhaps more *possibly* male.

Age at death: Adult / post-mid-twenties (the epiphyses are fused).

Bone weight: 44 g

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THE RE-EXCAVATION AND STUDY OF THE HELICON MOSAIC, ALDBOROUGH ROMAN TOWN

By Stephen Johnson and David S. Neal, edited by Margaret Snape, with contributions by C. Bronk Ramsey, Alexandra Croom, Anna Cselik, Joy Langston and Peter Marshall

In the south-west corner of Roman Aldborough are the sites of three mosaics discovered and published in the nineteenth century and now in the guardianship of English Heritage. One is known as the 'Helicon' or 'Muses' pavement. Although in a fragmentary condition, the mosaic is of fine workmanship and includes a Greek inscription reading 'Helicon' beside a standing female figure. It is assumed the inscription refers to Mount Helicon in Greece and that the complete mosaic originally depicted the nine Muses.

In 1979 Dr Stephen Johnson of the then Department of the Environment carried out excavation within the building housing the mosaic, prior to the conservation and display of its remaining fragments. The mosaic has been recorded and studied by Dr David Neal, who provides a new identification of the figure and has prepared new illustrations. In 1974 excavation by Miss Dorothy Charlesworth revealed a burial cut through the mosaic, and now known to be Roman.

English Heritage has commissioned and funded the publication of this report, which was prepared for publication by Margaret Snape of Tyne and Wear Museums Archaeology Department. The report comprises an introduction compiled by MS from the texts by SJ and DSN, an account of the excavation of 1979, a study of the mosaic, its conservation and the results of radiocarbon dating of human remains from the burial discovered in 1974, together with a study of the remains and a report on fragments of Roman pottery found with the burial.

INTRODUCTION

Of the three mosaics discovered and drawn by H. Ecroyd Smith between 1832 and 1848, those on view *in situ* are the Lion Mosaic and the Flower Pavement (Mosaics 123.13–14 in Neal and Cosh 2001). Close by and possibly from the same building is the Helicon Mosaic, which was first engraved in 1849 but re-engraved by M. N. Hessey in 1852, and published in Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* (1852, pl. XVIII).

The mosaic occupied a large room with an apsidal end, partially divided by responds (Figs 1 and 5) — it was, therefore, a bipartite room and probably used as a *triclinium* with the figured scenes facing diners in the apse. Although very little of the mosaic survived, it is likely to have contained two main schemes: (1) a large, probably square, panel, the surviving corner of which is shown by Smith to contain a female bust, and (2) a semicircular panel in the apse representing the Nine Muses (Fig. 5). Usually, when a room is divided by responds a third, narrow, panel divides the two main schemes but of this nothing remains. The overall size of the original pavement would have been 11.12 m by 7.29 m. A wall separated this room from a corridor (Fig. 1), in which Smith's plate shows a fragment of a mosaic with a guilloche mat surrounded by a broad band of grey-brown tesserae.

When the site of these mosaics was re-excavated in 1974 by Miss Charlesworth, they were found to occupy part of the floorspace of a former barn, whose walls, on all sides but the northern, rested on the remains of the Roman walls belonging to the building

within which the mosaics had formerly lain. Only on the northern side had a new wall been inserted; this had had the effect of cutting the former apse of the Roman rooms in two, thus giving the barn itself a most peculiar ground-plan which might best be described as semi-U-shaped. On excavation, it was found that the mosaic had deteriorated since its discovery by Smith, and that of the former two figures, only parts of one had survived. What is more, the inscription in blue glass tesserae had now become so detached, it was encased in plaster of Paris and lifted. The excavation work revealed that there were intrusive features dug through the mosaic levels, since a square grave (probably the cut shown as C on Fig. 1), partly lined with sandstone flags, cut through the pavement.

Following Miss Charlesworth's work, the mosaics were recorded by the second named author. There was a temporary timber roof over the whole of the ruinous barn buildings, but a more satisfactory permanent solution had to be found for the care and conservation of the mosaics and the Roman buildings. It was decided therefore that this must take the form of a floor with a damp-proof membrane on which to display the mosaic and that, in order to achieve this, it would be necessary to excavate the floor underneath it.

As a preliminary to the excavation work carried out in 1979, the fragments of surviving mosaic were cleaned and lifted as carefully as possible, and stored in trays, ready for reassembly after excavation of the under-floor areas. The figured section was reset on a mortar slab in the site museum (without the inscription) and the other fragments, including the corridor mosaic, reset *in situ* and reburied. In 1995 the reset panel was conserved by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory (Cselik 1995), the inscription replaced and the tesserae analysed (Pl. 1).

THE EXCAVATION OF 1979

By Stephen Johnson

Prior to excavation, as the mosaic was cleaned down, one portion, which included the figure of the Muse accompanied by the inscription, was found to have been surrounded in the nineteenth century, as part of a process of consolidation, with a substantial edging of tiles and bricks set in a hard white mortar. It was not altogether clear whether this part of the Roman mosaic had been lifted and reset at the same time (one assumes subsequent upon its discovery in 1846), but the disturbance of the under-floor levels which has been caused by the insertion of this frame was considerable. Its extent can be seen at A on Figure 1, which shows the extent of undisturbed Roman mortar flooring underneath the lifted portions of the mosaic and those areas where no mosaic was found to survive.

Figure 1 also shows the whole extent of the area which was excavated and from which the mosaic was lifted. It is in essence the total internal space within the post-medieval barn, which may have been built as a result of the excavations of 1846. Depicted on Figure 1 are the intrusive elements which were discovered after lifting of the mosaic and cleaning of the sub-floor areas. At A, around 0.20 m deep, was the trench lined with bricks and tile which formed the frame for the figured portion of the mosaic. At B was another disturbance of dark soil, with a setting of stones in a U-shaped formation at its southern end. One stone of this U-shaped setting appears to be visible in the illustration by Smith (1852, pl. XVIII). At C a rectangular trench which clearly had cut through the laid mortar floor may have been the position of the grave discovered by Miss Charlesworth. No trace of this survived. There were further disturbances at the eastern end of the building. At D all trace of the mosaic recorded by Smith had disappeared in a large modern disturbance, and at E and F there were further disturbances in the form

of screeds of white concrete, probably laid at the time of construction of the north wall of the barn.

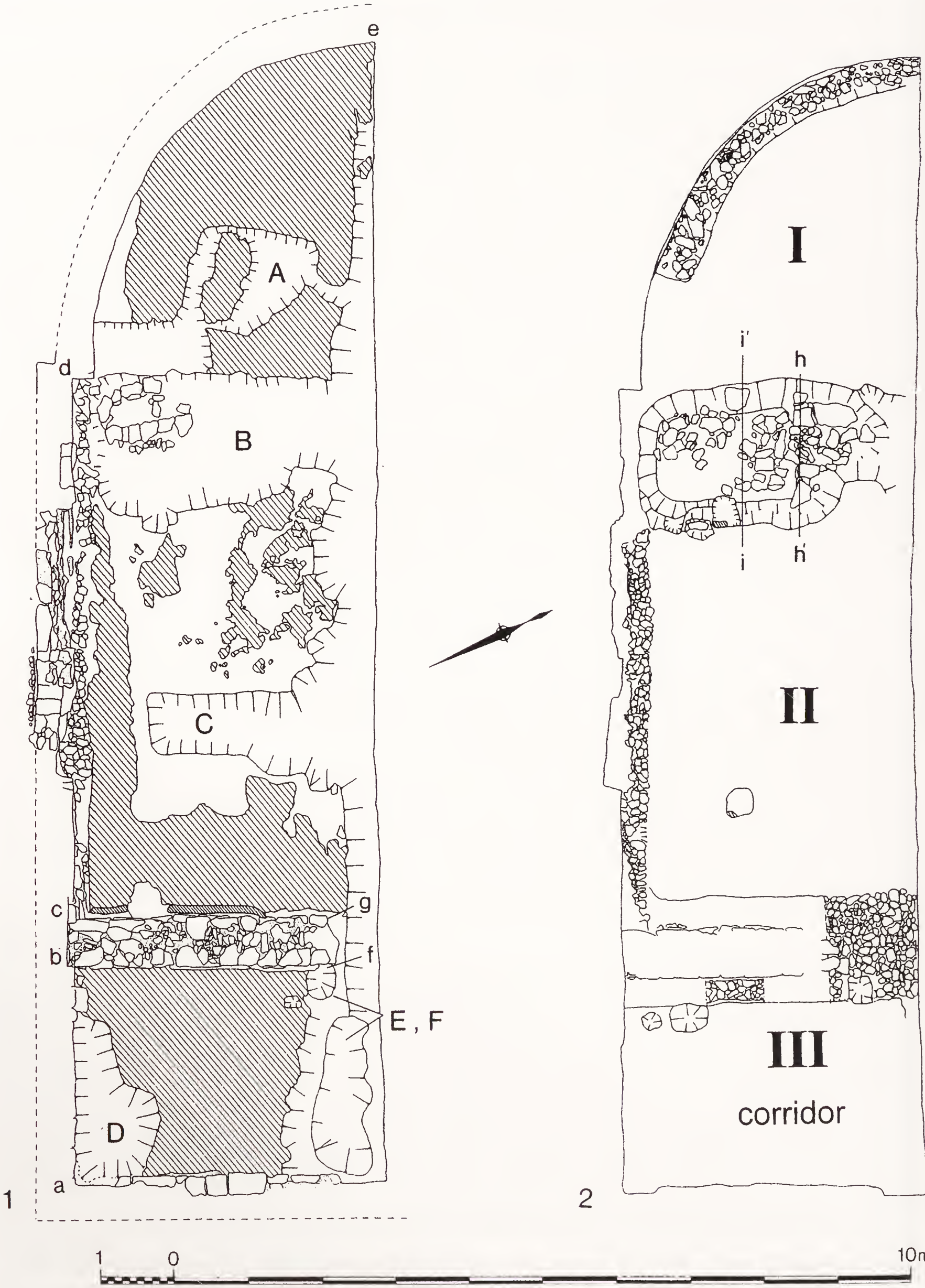
The internal area thus examined can be divided into three sectors, called here Areas I–III (Fig. 2). Area I represents half the apsidal end of the spacious bi-partite room. The semicircular apse would have been 8.4 m wide, with a diameter into the curved end of about 4.2 m. As can be seen from the plan (Fig. 1), the apse does not spring from the full width of the western end of the room; there is a slight offset at point 'd' in the surrounding wall. Area II is the square sector of the room; the original dimensions must have been something in the order of about 9 m wide by 7.2 m long.

Area III lies at the eastern end of Area II, and is separated from it by a wall. It seems to form a corridor which would originally have led northwards from the 'Helicon mosaic' room through a doorway set on its central axis. The surviving portion of this Area III had a width of 2.75 m, and a maximum length of 4.2 m, before being interrupted by the north wall foundations of the barn. Its original length cannot at this stage be determined, but it contained the guilloche mat mosaic, which is a typical pattern for a corridor, used perhaps in association with other such geometric patterns to fill a long narrow space.

In all three areas, the mosaic was laid on a bed of rubble capped with mortar, which formed a level platform over the underlying sand. The composition of the rubble was mainly fragments of limestone and schist, although pieces of tegula and some scraps of wall-plaster were also included. Tiny scraps of pottery were also recovered from the rubble make-up; these are now lost, but at the time of excavation it was thought that they dated to the late third century, thus providing a *terminus post quem* for the laying of the floor. Above this rubble bed, a layer of mortar some 30–40 mm thick formed the bed on which the mosaic was laid. In places, this was rather thicker — noticeably so at the south-east corner of Area III, below the fragments of the corner bust mosaic, where the figured part of the mosaic had been laid on a raised bed of rather pinker coloured mortar, some 20 mm thicker than the remainder. This was to ensure that the actual floor surface was level, for the outer coarser tesserae were thicker than the smaller cubes used for the finer, figured portions of the mosaic.

The structure of the building within which the mosaics lay was examined. Only the bottommost portions of the walls of the barn were found to be Roman, and the surviving masonry was drawn in elevation (Fig. 3). Portions of the south wall of the building and the wall of the apsidal end which lie beneath the heavy line on the drawings are surviving Roman fabric, as is all of the wall between the main room and the corridor. As can be seen from the drawing, much of the south wall of the building was in a very poor state of repair, with most of its facing gone. Much of the south wall of Area II in particular was only rubble core-work, and it was impossible to distinguish whether there had been any entrances into that room from the south.

The only room to provide any real structural evidence was Area III (Fig. 2). Its south wall contained a gap of some 1.1 m set slightly off-centre (see Fig. 3, elevation a–b). This could be interpreted as a doorway into another room, as yet unexplored, lying at the southern end of the corridor. Besides this, the wall between the corridor (Area III) and main room (Area II) was of interest. Against both faces, east and west, there was a quarter-round moulding which skirted the foot of the wall and disguised the joint between the mosaic floor and the plastered walls (visible only on the west face on Fig. 1). Slight traces of plaster and of green and yellow paint were noted on the wall face beneath the plaster fillet. The quarter-round moulding, however, did not run the full length of the wall, but stopped on both east and west faces in a curve, as if turning the corner into a door entrance, at a point about 2.3 m from the corner of the main room. If the calculations above about the size of the room are correct, and if this door opening was set centrally



within the east wall, this would suggest that the main doorway into the room was originally about 3.8 m wide. At a later stage this opening had been at least partially blocked by an additional wall, which had cut through the quarter-round moulding. There was no trace within this wall of a further, narrower doorway, though less than a metre of its additional length survived the construction of the north wall of the barn. The straight joint between the original wall and the additional blocking can best be seen on the west face in Figure 3 (elevation b–f).

At selected places the foundations of the walls were also examined. Only the internal areas of the buildings were available for study in this way, but the foundations were discovered to be remarkably wide; the wall between the main room and corridor for example, was only 0.66 m wide, yet it stood on a foundation 1.44 m wide, more than double its eventual width. The foundations of this wall were examined at a point where the blocking wall had been added, and it was discovered that the foundations ran without interruption through the space which must once have been the doorway. The foundations examined were those of the main structure, not the added blocking. Though it was not possible to examine the full width of other walls belonging to the building, there were indications that the south wall had been built in the same way; its internal foundation trench is shown on Figure 2. In both cases, the foundation trenches were filled with cobbles set in stiff clay. They had been overlain by the mortar and rubble subflooring for the mosaic.

THE 'HELICON' MOSAIC

By David S. Neal

The first engraving of 1849 and the re-engraving by M. N. Hessey in 1852 (Smith 1852, pl. XVIII; part of which is shown here as Fig. 4) both show parts no longer extant but, in the light of reinterpretation and pictorial evidence, it is unlikely the pavement was ever adequately cleaned or scrutinised in detail (certainly not by a classical scholar) when the initial drawings were made.

The overall size of the original pavement would have been 11.12 m by 7.29 m. As indicated in the introduction, the two main schemes within the mosaic (Fig. 5) were (1) a large probably square panel (within excavation Area II), and (2) a semicircular panel in the apse representing the Nine Muses (within excavation Area I).

Panel 1

Only a small corner from this panel survived in 1849 and even less survives today. The engravings show the bust of a female figure gazing forwards. Her shoulders and upper body are preserved and are naked, outlined red and infilled in two shades of pink. The right breast is also outlined red and has a black nipple. Tightly drawn across the neck is a red and brown necklace bearing a small black pendant. Over the left shoulder are wavy red and brown lines, probably a lock of hair. The 'hair' represented on the engraving is reminiscent of the edge of the hood often worn by Winter (Witts 1994a, II, 8), but the pink tesserae of the body are probably incompatible with this interpretation. The compartment containing the bust is of indeterminate size, but is surrounded by a band of

Fig. 1. Helicon mosaic excavation, 1979: plan of the excavated area, showing intrusive elements. Widely-spaced shading indicates extent of mortar on which mosaic had originally been laid; narrow shading shows quarter-round moulding.

Fig. 2. Plan showing wall foundations and excavated details of intrusion B.

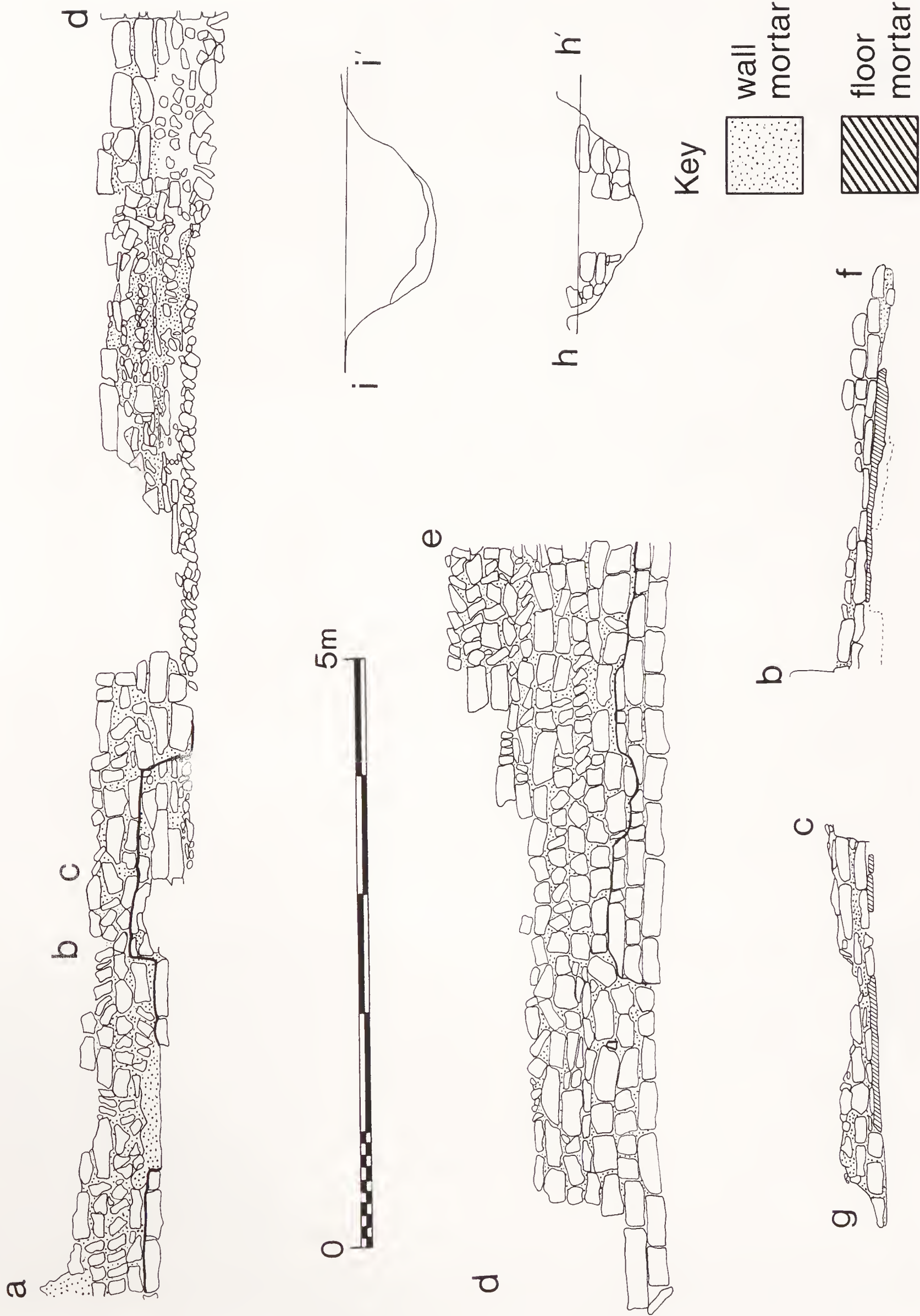


Fig. 3. Elevations of walls; position of elevations shown on Figure 1. Sections through intrusion B; position of sections shown on Figure 2.

wave pattern, simple guilloche with red, yellow and white strands and grey swastika-meander with single returns; traces of the latter along two sides indicate that this pattern is likely to have surrounded the whole panel, which was probably square. The mosaic has a coarse border with a wide band of red and a wider margin of brown — a similar arrangement borders Panel B.

Panel 2

Only about one half of the apse was uncovered, and its mosaic found to be very fragmentary. The semicircular panel (Fig. 6) is outlined by a double fillet of grey; tangent to the chord is a series of upright rectangular compartments, similarly delineated, of which parts of three survive, two with the remains of standing human figures and, in between, the corner of another compartment largely lost. A length of simple guilloche, with red, yellow and white strands and terminating in a point, fills the interspace between the end panel and the outer line of the apse; a similar arrangement probably once existed on the other side of the apse also. Below the figures the remaining space is filled by a probably square compartment framed by grey superposed-triangles between parallel lines (although only one right-angle survives), flanked by quadrants. The figures are intended to be viewed from within the apse facing east; the least well preserved figure (now totally lost) stands directly above the right corner of the square compartment and shows the lower torso's dress with vertical folds represented in dark grey and red (but the engravings are not coloured accurately since the colours of the next figure to be described are different on the engraving from actuality). The feet are not shown in detail but were perhaps brown or buff on a pink background. Against the figure's right waist is a pink feature which could be part of a stole or cloak. Only the left corner of the adjacent panel survived in 1846; none survives today.

In the next panel, the last on the right, is the lower part of a standing female in a girdled tunic with maroon and cream folds and with her left arm flexed across her breast and holding one end of an open white scroll outlined maroon. To the right is an irregular area of red and grey probably intended to represent rocks, above which, on a white ground, is an inscription in two rows of Greek lettering set in blue glass tesserae, reading EAH / KΩN (Helicon) (*RIB* II. 2448.5), a reference to Mount Helicon (Fig. 7A). Substantially more of the figure survived when it was found than today, but because the engravings are representational interpretation of them is difficult. A photograph, perhaps taken sometime in the 1930s, shows virtually the whole of the lower torso surviving including the folds of her tunic, her sandalled feet and part of her left arm with the inscription beneath. Part of the scroll and her left hand also survived but the photograph is poor and details are difficult to determine. However, in 1996–97 a collection of glass slides made in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, known as the Kendall Slide Collection, was acquired by English Heritage. Among them are two slides of the Roman pavement under discussion; one is a general view the length of the pavement and the other an oblique image of the fragment preserved in the 'cold frame'. The quality of the photograph (Fig. 8) is good and shows two features never before observed. The first is what appears to be a human mask superimposed over the figure's right knee and the second is some lettering on the open scroll (which, with hindsight, can just be observed on the inferior photograph of the 1930s and a tiny part of which is actually preserved). Details of the mask (redrawn by the writer from the photograph (Pl. 2)) are a little obscure but it seems to be male and have a rather pudgy nose and thick lips; it also has a number of sinuous lines to the side of the face and under the chin which could be intended to represent a beard. Above the mask is a Λ-shaped line looking like a suspension cord but this might be expected to continue upwards to the figure's right hand and there is no

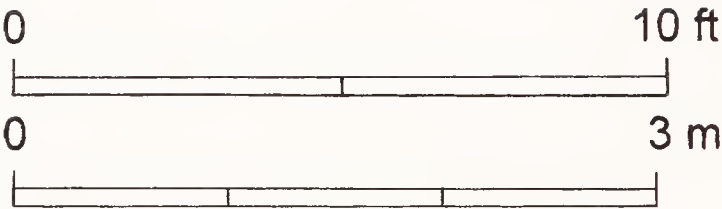
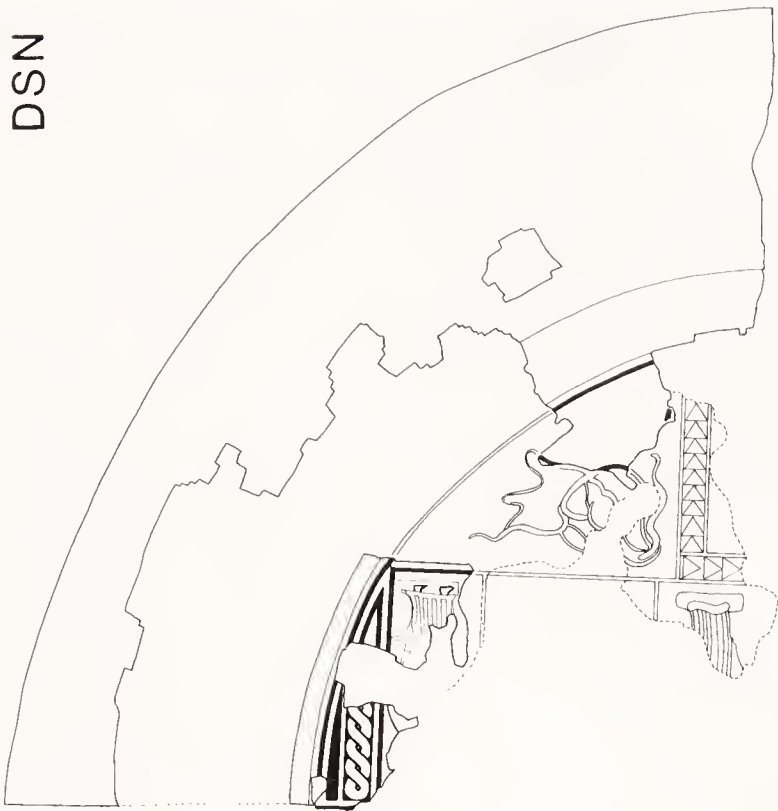
evidence for this, while the hand, although lost, would be expected to be holding the scroll. Alternatively, the feature might be a pointed cap but this interpretation is also dubious. Of the scroll, one side is held in the figure's left hand; its top end is lost but the bottom end is shown as a circle as if it were a hollow tube; a similar feature can be seen to the left of the scroll on both the engraving and the newly discovered photograph. The lettering represented on the scroll is possibly in Greek (as on the adjacent inscription) and curves around the underside of what appears to be a circular feature separated from it by two rows of white tesserae. Two maroon tesserae, one triangular, tangent to the bottom of the scroll are preserved today and are almost certainly the end of one of the letters. The writer is indebted to both Martin Henig and Roger Tomlin for their help in the identification of the inscription, which is interpreted as reading . . .] IEIA (Fig. 7B). The new evidence, therefore, would indicate that the figure is not that of Clio, as has been generally accepted (Toynbee 1964, 284; Smith 1977, 119–20) but that of Thalia — ΘΑΛΕΙΑ (the Muse of pantomime) — or Polyhymnia — ΠΟΛΥΜΝΕΙΑ (the Muse of sacred song). The first interpretation is the more likely, since the mask is probably a comic mask of the 'angry old man' type well known from New Comedy. However, this reading of the inscription does not explain, satisfactorily, the presence of a possible



Fig. 4. Black and white reproduction of the coloured plate published by H. Ecroyd Smith (1852, pl. XVIII).

Fig. 5 (opposite page). Line drawing showing the extent of the mosaic surviving in 1846 and what remained in 1975.

DSN



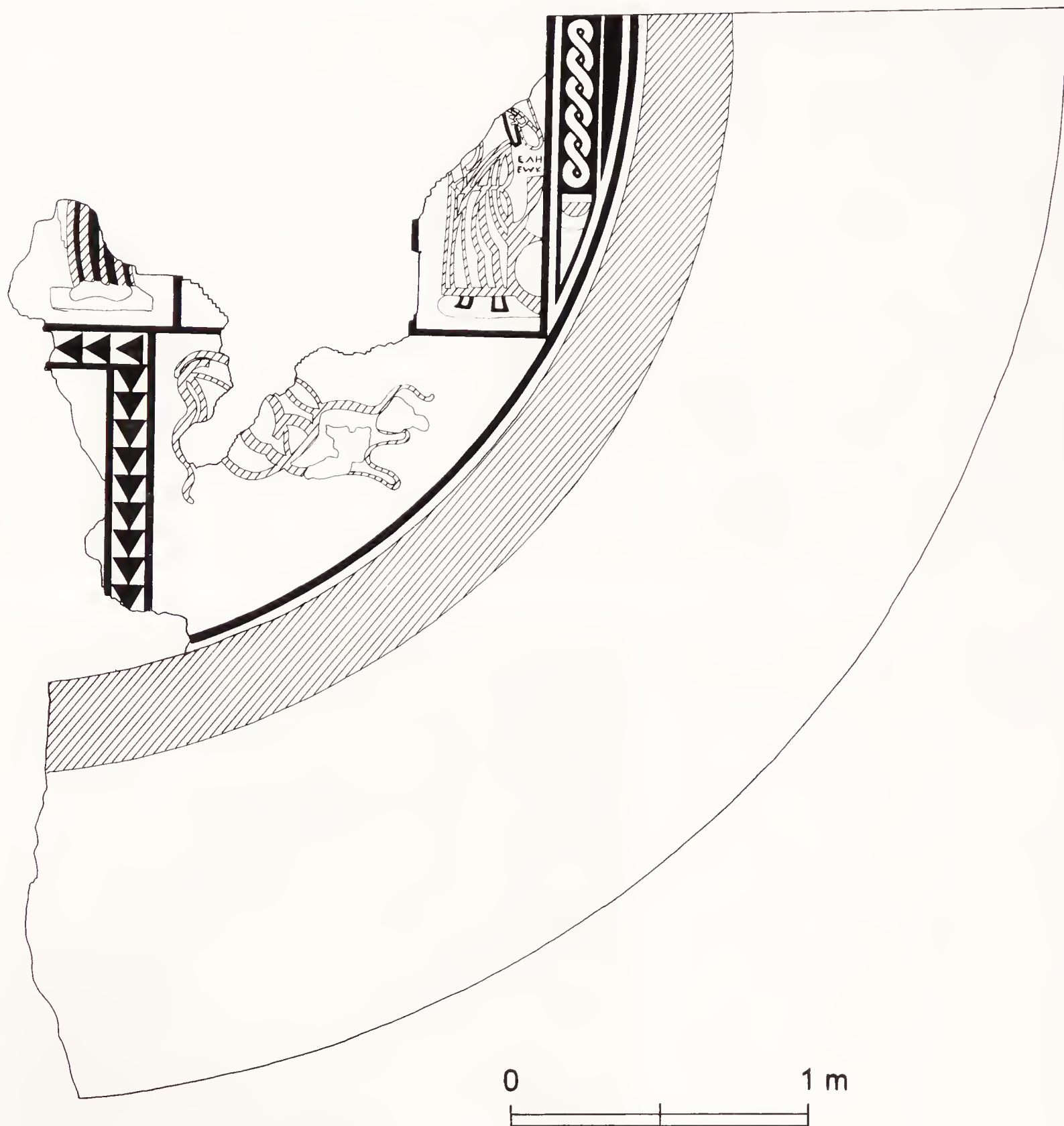


Fig. 6. Line drawing of the apsidal panel showing the surviving area in 1846.

>-shape following the A of . . .] IEIA. It is possible it is an *ansate* indicating the terminal of a plaque, but if it is intended to read as an S the inscription could be . . .] IETAS and therefore in Latin and not Greek. It has been suggested that it could read PIETAS (dutiful conduct towards the gods) but the author knows of no other mosaic with a mixture of Greek and Latin. Whatever the correct interpretation of the inscription, there can be little doubt that the theme of the mosaic is the Nine Muses but their arrangement, as given by Hesiod (*Theogony*, lines 75–80), was not in the same order.

Below the figure the contents of the one remaining quadrant (Fig. 6) are fragmentary and have been variously interpreted as a 'dragon or sea-monster' (Smith 1852, 42), 'a large shell (?)' (Toynbee 1964, 285) or perhaps 'a jelly-fish' (Neal 1981, 39). As we have already seen from the new discovery, the engravers misunderstood what they were drawing, and this part is now mostly lost, but Witts (1994b, 10–11) has shown, convincingly, that it represents a reclining water nymph with her legs partially covered by drapery,

perhaps with her elbow resting on the mouth of an urn issuing water — comparable to the water nymphs on the Muses mosaic from Brantingham, East Riding (Neal 1981, No. 12). Beeson (1996, 22) has suggested that the water nymph, and the lost one to the left of the square compartment, depict the two sacred springs of Mount Helicon, Hippocrene and Aganippe, and has conjectured that an appropriate subject in the lost square panel would be a pool, perhaps containing Pegasus, the striking of whose hoof created the spring.

There is no parallel for the mosaic showing Muses in this arrangement in Britain, although other mosaics, such as that from Brantingham and a mosaic from Wynford Eagle, Dorset (Rainey 1973, pl. 16B), may have depicted them as busts. However, filling one of eleven panels on a fine mosaic from Torre de Palma, Portugal (De Almeida 1975, pl. LXXIX) are nine figures arranged in a row without occupying separate compartments. They do not have individual inscriptions but they can be identified by their attributes. Thalia and Melpomene, for example, carry comic and tragic masks in their left hands; both figures stand side by side but neither of them, nor any other figure, holds a scroll, and neither are they arranged to follow Hesiod's list. Here the observer did not require both a mask *and* an inscription to identify the figure — the attributes were sufficient. At Aldborough, since one of the figures is identified by an inscription, it is quite possible that all of them were similarly inscribed and conceivably, therefore, all of them held scrolls.

There is no other mosaic in Britain with an inscription in Greek (excluding Chi-Rhos found at Hinton St Mary and Frampton, Dorset), and the only Greek inscription on a Roman mosaic known to the writer from Northern Europe occurs on the Philosophers mosaic from Cologne (Parlasca 1959, pls 80–82), where the names of seven philosophers are shown in rectangular 'labels' below and across the portrait busts. At Aldborough it would imply that the residents of the house, and their social group, could read Greek but whether the person who commissioned it was of Greek extraction, or a Roman or native Briton educated in Greek, will never be known. Certainly he was educated in the classics and is likely to have provided the design, perhaps from an illuminated book, to the mosaicist. Indeed, it is quite possible that the mosaicist did not understand the inscriptions he had to copy, but that is not to suggest that the mosaicist's work was inferior, for the quality of the surviving fragments indicates that the mosaic is exceptional and the product of a fine craftsman — somebody who was specially commissioned to produce it. Whatever the cultural roots of the owner it seems strange that a person educated in Greek should live at Aldborough, away from York where one might expect such educated classes to live but perhaps, if the owner was a retired government official, escape from the city to lead a quieter, more cultured, life was his intention.

Pottery, now lost, but thought at the time of excavation in 1979 to be late third century, gives a likely early fourth-century date for the mosaic. Also found were two small fragments of mosaic which join, of exceptionally fine workmanship, including maroon, deep red, pink (possibly flesh tones), deep yellow, white and pale blue glass, lighter in colour than the blue glass used in the inscription. There is no red from brick or samian. A feature of the fragment is the presence of a curved line in yellow with 'leaf' shapes on one side concentrically shaded deep red and pink. It is assumed that they represent parts of a missing figure as they do not seem to relate to the known fragments.

Glass tesserae are relatively common in mosaics on the Continent, but unusual in Romano-British mosaics. However, a number of pavements have glass tesserae, including the pavement from Micklegate Bar, York (Neal and Cosh 2001, Mosaic 149.1), and blue glass tesserae can also be seen in the eyes of the feathers of the peacock mosaic from St Nicholas Street, Leicester (*ibid.*, Mosaic 25.19). (Note: glass tesserae found in other contexts, like the large numbers found at a site in the *vicus* at Castleford, may have been

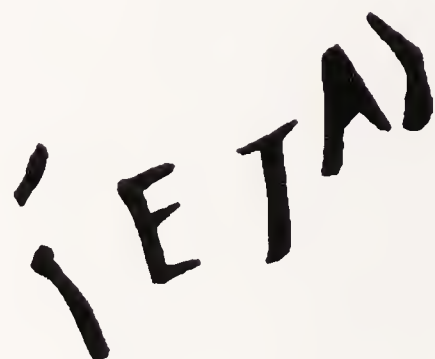
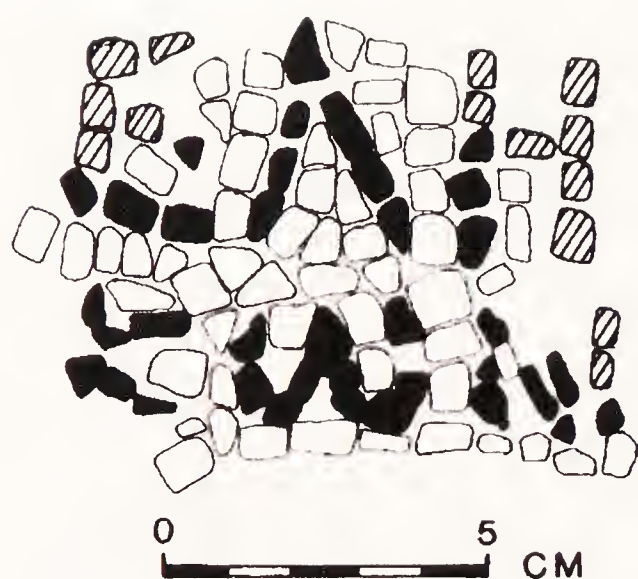


Fig. 7A and 7B. Line drawings of the inscriptions. Drawing A, on the left, is based on a tracing of the surviving fragments before restoration and photographs of the inscription *in situ*. Drawing B (right) shows the inscription on the scroll, made from scrutiny of Figure 8.

intended for use in the manufacture of some type of glass or enamelled objects (Cool and Price 1998, 193–94).)

The similarity of the reclining water nymphs and the inclusion of superposed triangles to the Brantingham mosaic may link the two pavements and thus it is possibly assignable to the Northern Group of mosaicists. However, the workmanship is much superior with tesserae as small as 5 mm and it is probable, therefore, that the Aldborough mosaic was the inspiration for later mosaics and not by the same craftsman. A panel framed by superposed triangles was also found on Mosaic 132.7 from Harpham and Mosaic 55.10 from Lincoln (Neal & Cosh 2001).

CONSERVATION OF THE HELICON MOSAIC

By Anna Cselik

Condition

The piece of mosaic lifted for display was in three main sections: tunic section; guilloche section; Helicon section. According to unpublished notes, the lifting procedure had involved backing the tunic and guilloche sections with cement and concrete reinforced with aluminium wire and brushing the surface with wire brushes. Various cements, mortars, plasters and adhesives obscured some tesserae of the tunic and guilloche sections. Several tesserae were very badly set, for example on their sides or even upside down. Many were obviously not in their original positions. Some tesserae were cracked and fragmented. Photographs taken in May 1986 show deep cracks in places. Sadly, by 1991 the cracks had developed into breaks and several fragments had become detached. It is possible that the cement and concrete backing caused a build-up of mechanical stress, which forced apart pieces of this section. One of the cracks split some tesserae in half. Removal of the backing was necessary, therefore, to prevent further fractures from occurring. Deep scratches, at various orientations, were visible on the tesserae. These could have been caused by the wire brushes employed during the lifting process.

The Helicon section differed from the other two sections in that it had not been in cement and concrete but cement, adhesive and gauze. The blue glass tesserae forming the inscription were loose and had thin layers of white corrosion on their surfaces. Many other tesserae were loose, and the gauze had buckled, so that part of this section had folded over itself.



Fig. 8. Photograph of the 'Helicon' panel protected by a cold frame. Taken at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Kendall Slide Collection, English Heritage.

Analysis

In a few cases, it was difficult to determine the material from which some tesserae were made or to understand their colouration. The white tesserae seemed very dense and it was not clear whether they were chalk or limestone. The blue-black tesserae were only that colour on the polished surface, the body of the tesserae being grey. They may have become this colour through burnishing. The green colour of the green tesserae was only visible on the top surface. Whether this was organic in origin or a pigment was not clear.



Plate 1. The restored section of the 'Helicon' mosaic. Photograph by David S. Neal.



Plate 2. Painting by David S. Neal showing the extent of the ‘Helicon’ panel surviving on the photograph represented on Figure 8. The colours are based on the surviving fragments and their tonal values. Where the colours are uncertain the background is shown as yellow ochre. Copyright David S. Neal.

One tessera of each colour — a white, a blue-black and a green — was sent to Messrs Sandberg for analysis to see if more could be determined.

The white tessera was finely crystalline, hard chalk. Its composition was approximately 90 per cent calcite and 10 per cent fossil remains. This type of chalk is common in southern and eastern England. The nearest rocks of this type to Aldborough are to the east where a strip 20 miles wide stretches along the east coast from just south of Scarborough to The Wash.

The blue-black tessera was a type of dark grey, very hard, finely crystalline limestone. It was composed mainly of microcrystalline calcite enclosing opaque black particles of possible organic origin and deep orange red particles probably iron oxides. The nearest dark limestones to Aldborough are to the north and north-west of Aldborough in the Pennines.

The light green tessera consisted of a dark grey, very hard, finely crystalline limestone. The top surface was of a finely crystalline material, which was olive green in places. Very small deep green particles were visible in the layer, possibly a type of metal oxide such as copper, which may indicate a pigment. These particles comprised the merest trace but may, in part, have produced the green colouration.

The type of glass used for the inscription was determined, with the help of Cath Mortimer of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory, by energy dispersive X-ray analysis of a small fragment of glass tessera. It showed that the tessera is a soda glass. This is typical of Roman glass. The colourant in the glass is likely to be cobalt as only a minute amount is needed (0.1 per cent) to provide a blue colour. Had copper been the colourant, the copper peak would have been more pronounced and the glass would have had a lighter blue colour. The other oxides present, such as calcium, magnesium and iron, are probably impurities in the sand used to make the glass.

Treatment

All the old cement and concrete backing was removed from the mosaic. Old adhesive and scrim were also removed. Mortar, which was possibly *opus signinum*, was consolidated in places. Fragile tesserae were consolidated and fragmented tesserae reassembled. The reverses of the tesserae were coated with a separating layer and the sections were pressed, the reverse side down, into a layer of Windsor and Newton superfine modelling clay. The positions of the tesserae were adjusted as appropriate on the advice of David S. Neal, who had made a drawing of the mosaic in 1975. Lines of tesserae, which had become distorted, were straightened. Tesserae which were obviously placed incorrectly were removed altogether, such as a line of large red tesserae underneath the feet of the Muse. Photographs and drawings were referred to throughout. Once the tunic and guilloche sections were correctly aligned, the Helicon section was then aligned with both of the other two sections. Once all the sections had been aligned satisfactorily, the whole mosaic was faced up with gauze and adhesive.

A simple backing system was chosen using an epoxy resin and expanded aluminium as the support. To reduce the weight of the backing, Micafil was chosen as a bulking agent for the resin. It was decided that the backing should project beyond the edge of the mosaic to provide extra protection to the tesserae along the edge, especially the blue glass tesserae of the inscription.

The mosaic was turned over and the clay removed. The reverse of the mosaic was coated with a separating agent. Larger gaps in the design were filled with a thin layer of Newplast (a type of Plasticine but less oily). This was so that, in these areas, the backing would be slightly recessed below the surface of the mosaic. Sheets of cardboard were used to construct a wall around the mosaic approximately one inch from the edge of the

mosaic. A thin layer of modelling clay was placed in the gap between the edge of the mosaic and the wall to recess the backing.

A thin layer of plaster of Paris was put on to the back of the mosaic to act as a further barrier between the mosaic and the epoxy resin. Expanded aluminium was cut to the shape of the mosaic but slightly smaller so that it did not reach the edge of the backing. Another sheet of expanded aluminium was then cut to the same size, but the orientation of the diamond-shaped openings was at a 45-degree angle to first give added strength, and then a third layer of epoxy and Micafil was applied.

Once the final layer had set, the cardboard was removed from the edges of the backing. The mosaic was turned over so that it rested on its new backing and the gauze and adhesive facing was removed. Where the plaster gapfills and surround were a little high in areas, they were sanded down with various grades of emery and silicon carbide paper. Sand was mixed with a consolidant and applied between tesserae and over the surface of the plaster to provide a rough surface appearance.

Display

The object is on display on the floor at the site museum in Aldborough in a specially constructed glass case, which will help to keep it dust free.

Note: The above account is an abridgement of *Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 32/95* (Cselik 1995).

THE HELICON ROOM BURIAL

The significance of the burial

Samples of human bone from the grave cut through the Helicon mosaic, which was discovered by Miss Charlesworth in 1974, were submitted for radiocarbon dating by the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit. As described below, the results indicate that the probability that the burial was Roman in date is 98.2 per cent.

This result is of great significance. For this spacious dining room and its fine mosaic, apparently only laid in the early fourth century, to have been disturbed by a grave before the end of that century says much about the end of Roman Aldborough. As described below, this was not the only burial cutting the Helicon mosaic; a different grave had already been recorded by Smith (1852, 41, pl. XVIII). Clearly this luxurious house, situated almost at the centre of the south-west quadrant of the town (see Fig. 2, Snape, Bidwell and Croom, this volume), must have been out of use before the end of the Roman period. Furthermore, the presence of the burials makes it unlikely that normal town life could have been carrying on in this quadrant of the town.

THE RADIOCARBON DETERMINATIONS

By P. D. Marshall and C. Bronk Ramsey

The results (Table 1) are conventional radiocarbon ages (Stuiver and Polach 1977), quoted in accordance with the international standard known as the Trondheim convention (Stuiver and Kra 1986). The samples were processed according to methods outlined in Bronk Ramsey *et al.* (2000) and Bronk Ramsey and Hedges (1997).

The calibrated date ranges for the samples have been calculated using the maximum intercept method of Stuiver and Reimer (1986), and are quoted in the form recommended by Mook (1986) with end points rounded outwards to 10 years. The probability distributions (Fig. 9) have been calculated using OxCal (v3.5) (Bronk Ramsey 1995; 1998) and the usual probability method (Stuiver and Reimer 1993). The results have been calibrated using data from Stuiver *et al.* (1998).

TABLE 1: Results of radiocarbon determinations

Laboratory Number	Sample Number	Radiocarbon Age (BP)	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (‰)	C/N ratio	Weighted mean (BP)	Calibrated date range (95% confidence)
OxA-9981	ALD19752717 753100	1666 ± 37	-19.6	+12.2	3.2	1703 ± 25	cal AD 250-420
OxA-9983	ALD19752717 753100	1734 ± 34	-19.6	-	-		

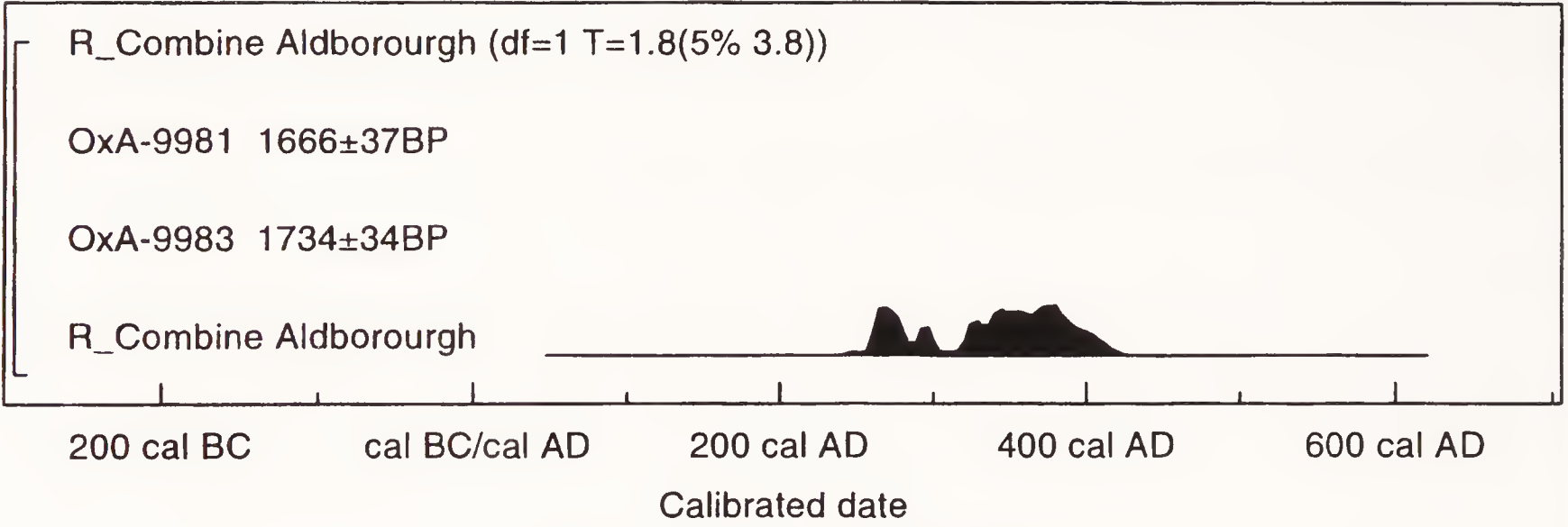


Fig. 9. Probability distributions.

The two measurements (OxA-9981 1666 + / - 37BP and OxA-9983 1734 + / - 34BP) are not statistically different ($T' = 1.8$; $v = 1$; $T' (5\%) = 3.8$; Ward and Wilson 1978) and so a weighted mean can be taken of the results before calibration. The weighted mean of 1703 ± 25 BP gives a calibrated date range of cal AD 250-420. The probability that the skeleton is a Roman burial and dates to before cal AD 410 is 98.2 per cent.

The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value of -19.6‰ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ value of +12.2‰ suggests a small marine component in the diet although this is not likely to affect the radiocarbon dating (Chisholm *et al.* 1982; Schoeninger *et al.* 1983). The C:N ratio suggests the bone preservation was sufficiently good to have confidence in the radiocarbon determinations (Master 1987; Tuross *et al.* 1988).

HUMAN SKELETAL REMAINS FROM THE HELICON MOSAIC BURIAL

By Joy Langston

The remains excavated from the Helicon pavement (Accession Number 753100) are unfortunately very partial with little of the skeleton surviving. However, there was sufficient evidence to make the point that this building had been disturbed by more than one burial. The lack of dental pathology indicated below distinguishes this burial from that found in the nineteenth century, in which the worn condition of the teeth was apparent (Smith 1852, 41, pl. XVIII).

Summary

Sex

Evidence from the maxilla and the long bone fragments suggests a possible female.

Age at death

Techniques established by Brothwell (1981), Krogman (1962), Lovejoy *et al.* (1985) and



Fig. 10. Probable left ulna, showing severe eburnation at the distal end of the bone.

Meindl *et al.* (1985), were used in analysis of pelvic and dental remains. Evidence from the pelvis and surviving teeth indicate that the possible female died in the late teens/early twenties.

Pathology

There is evidence of trauma in an unhealed midshaft fracture of the (probable) left ulna. Unfortunately the proximal end of the bone has not survived and the morphology of the remaining shaft has been altered by a severe periostitic reaction resulting in new bone deposition on the outer surface of the cortex. An injury of this nature is unlikely to have affected only one of the forearm bones and since the remaining fragment of the right radius shows no abnormality it is proposed that the ulnar fragment must therefore be from the left arm. The injury appears to have happened at some time prior to death since there has been development of severe eburnation at the distal end of the bone; this is evidence of gross alteration of the joint mechanics at the wrist (Fig. 10). The eburnation indicates that the individual did attempt functional activities but these must have been very restricted as neither hand nor forearm movement can have been normal.

Dental pathology

The few remaining teeth showed no pathology.

Catalogue of bones present

Abbreviations and conventions used:

cm: centimetre

g: grams

Dental recording:

5, 6 etc.: tooth present

/: post-mortem loss

-: bone of maxilla/mandible missing

Vertebrae:

C: cervical

T: thoracic

L: lumbar

The total weight of the surviving bone was 348 g, of which 87 g comprised unrecognisable fragments. The weights of the recognisable fragments are incorporated into the catalogue below.

Left humeral shaft fragment (length 13.0 cm)

Right radius: proximal end and shaft fragment (6.4 cm)

Ulna distal: end and shaft fragment (9.0 cm). This bone shows evidence of trauma and an unhealed midshaft fracture (visible in the tapering proximal end of the fragment). It is probable that this fragment is the left ulna (see 'Pathology' above).

Metacarpals: right first, left third and fourth

Phalanx: probable proximal third/fourth (side unknown)

Five fragments of long bone shaft (small diameter) (total weight 96 g):

a) probable left and right fibular shaft fragments (8.2 cm and 9.6 cm)

b) possible radial shaft fragment (6.0 cm)

c) fragments of unknown side/position — possibly fibular or ulnar but no articulation with (probable) fibular fragments above or distal ulnar fragment (10.1 cm and 7.4 cm)

Pelvic fragments (total weight 30 g):

Fragments of right pubis and acetabulum

Part of left ischium

Vertebrae (total weight 46 g):

T₁₁ and 12 virtually complete plus spinous and transverse processes of T₁₀ (rims recently fused on bodies of T₁₁ and 12)

Rib fragments x 21 (total weight 54 g): includes

Left and right first rib (sternal end unfused)

Vertebral ends x 7 (three right and four left)

Midshaft fragments x 12

Skull vault fragments x 10 (largest 5.5 cm x 3.5 cm) (total weight 42 g):

Some partial fusion of sutures but a number of fragments have actually broken along the suture line (indicating fusion was incomplete)

Dental remains: left and right maxillar fragments

Left- - 6 5 / / / - / / / / / 6 / /Right

(mandible - missing)

Conclusions

Sex

Possible female as the dental arch of the maxilla is more parabolic. In addition, although the long bone shaft fragments are of adult structure they are small in diameter with no strongly marked muscle attachments/insertions which are possibly a more feminine feature.

Age at death

Only part of the pubic symphyseal face has survived but this fragment shows very distinct billowing indicative of an age at death in the late teens/early twenties. The two maxillary first molars also have very little attritional wear apart from levelling of the cusps which strongly suggests a younger person, as does the recently fused vertebral body rims and the immature morphology of the sternal end of the first rib.

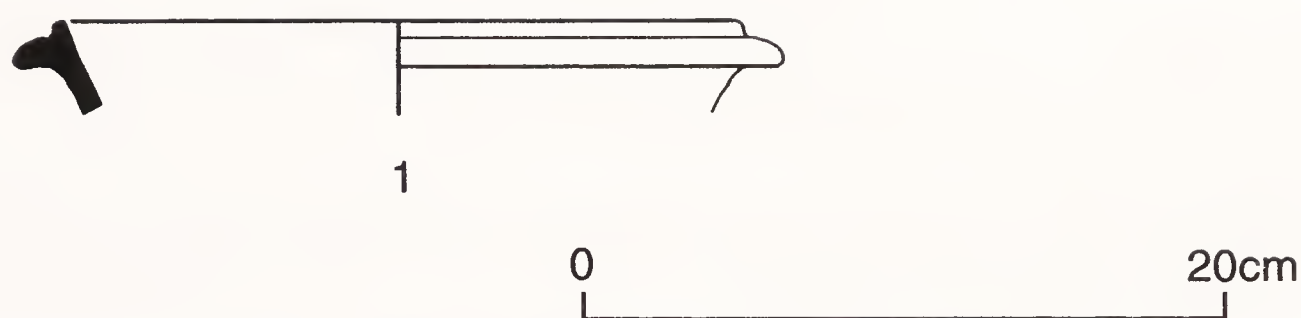


Fig. 11. East Yorkshire grey ware bowl. Scale 1:4.

Pathology

The fragment of the (probable) left ulna shows evidence of an unhealed midshaft fracture. The bone surface also shows a chronic periostitic reaction that has completely covered the normal outer cortex. The ulnar styloid is absent and what remains of the distal articular surface is completely eburnated, presumably the result of highly abnormal joint mechanics at the wrist joint following the injury, resulting in secondary osteoarthritic changes. It is possible that the styloid was fractured in the same traumatic incident which fractured the midshaft, the bone fragment then becoming necrotic and lost. Unfortunately the left radius and the proximal end of the ulna have not been preserved.

The non-united fracture of the left ulna and severe degenerative changes at the left wrist joint would have caused pain and loss of normal function in life.

The few fragments of other bone with articular surfaces show no signs of degenerative joint disease.

COARSE WARES AND OTHER FINDS

By A. T. Croom

A collection of four pottery sherds, four fragments of painted plaster (mid-red, purple, green, and purple and green in colour) and a scrap of fine *opus signinum* are recorded as having been 'found with human bones' during the excavations of 1975. The pottery weighs only 0.055 kg in total, and consists of a rim from an East Yorkshire grey ware bowl (white core and mid-grey surfaces), two joining sherds of calcite gritted ware cooking pot, and a sherd from a cooking pot in a fine, dark grey sandy fabric.

Calcite gritted ware was made throughout the Roman period, while the reduced ware sherd is of unknown origin, and therefore neither are useful for dating purposes. Of greater interest is the flanged rim bowl, which is a type that was in production from the late third century until the end of the Roman period (Fig. 11).

NOTE: THE ARCHIVE

All finds are stored in the English Heritage Archaeological Store at Helmsley, where the archive of this report will be deposited.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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SOME 'REDISCOVERED' ROMAN FINDS FROM ALDBOROUGH AND VICTORIA CAVE, SETTLE

By Martin J. Dearne with a contribution by David Shotter

The rise in interest in archaeological sites in Yorkshire (and elsewhere in Britain) in the middle and later nineteenth century often led to the formation of collections of artefacts from single or multiple sites by various individuals. Some of these were involved in what were often, by today's standards, unscientific excavations at one or more sites, others were principally interested in collecting objects irrespective of their origins and some combined collecting with the reporting of others' excavations and finds. Whilst a number of such private collections still survive, in whole or in part and in public or less often private hands, inevitably the degree to which their contents can be provenanced and provide useful evidence for interpreting sites varies greatly. However, where a reasonable amount of provenance information is extant they can represent a unique source of evidence for sites that are no longer available for investigation or have seen relatively little modern investigation for one reason or another. This is especially so where the contents of a collection can be linked to excavations for which some published or archive account exists.

One such site is Victoria Cave, Settle. Almost completely excavated before 1880, in a reasonably methodical manner for the time, it was one of a group of caves utilised in the Roman period which are situated high in limestone scars at the western edge of Malham Moor above the Ribble valley. Though adjacent to at least one open site of the period, these caves are at a considerable distance from any known military or semi-urban centre. Victoria Cave's Romano-British archaeology has been at least partly reconstructed by the author, Mr Thomas C. Lord and others, including Prof. Keith Branigan, Prof. Paul Buckland and Dr David Shotter, over several years, using artefacts and archives surviving in public and private collections and limited contemporary accounts. The latter were published by a small number of antiquarians and, in the 1870s, by a British Association excavation committee. A monograph on this work (Dearne and Lord 1998) has recently appeared, but the present author has now established that the private collection of one of the most important of the antiquarian reporters, Henry Eckroyd Smith, which had previously been presumed lost, in fact passed at least in part to Saffron Walden Museum in Essex. Examination of the collection and museum documentation has allowed the provenance of much of the material to be established and some details of Victoria Cave artefacts to be matched to those published by Smith (1865). It has also revealed that material from Wroxeter, Colchester, London and other sites in Britain and abroad was included in Smith's collection. In particular a group of unpublished finds from Aldborough, the Roman site which he was one of the first to document in his book *Reliquiae Isurianae* published in 1852, was noted. As this material was unknown to Bishop when he compiled the definitive catalogue of the small finds from Aldborough (Bishop 1996), the purpose of this paper is to publish both these groups of material and briefly comment on what they add to the evidence for the interpretation of the two sites.

PROVENANCE

The material published here almost all derives from the collection of Henry Eckroyd Smith. Most, if not all, passed to Saffron Walden Museum in 1882, as confirmed both by the museum's accessions register and by the original museum labels affixed to some pieces. However, it was not presented by Smith himself, but bought for the museum by George Stacy Gibson, one of its founding benefactors. Further material from Smith's collection, presented by Smith himself, entered the museum in November 1883, and it is possible that some of the pieces catalogued here were part of that donation and not Gibson's. In particular Aldborough Nos 4 and 34–52 do not appear in records of the 1882 donation and might have been amongst the 'various Roman antiquities all of which are labelled' comprising museum register number 1883.16, for which no further information is available. The provenance of the material relies on a list of the 1882 donation in the museum's accessions register (which, however, may be incomplete); on original museum labels; and (in the case of Aldborough Nos 34–52 (?and No. 4)) on current storage bag labels. These latter are presumed to have been based on earlier lost labels and a lost list referred to as 'Typed List Register B'. In the case of some of the Victoria Cave items and one or more pieces from Aldborough the provenance can be further confirmed by specific attributions in Smith (1852 and 1865).

Victoria Cave

Indeed, the composition of the group provenanced as from Victoria Cave allows ambiguities in Smith's (1865) text noted in Dearne and Lord (1998, 36) to be entirely resolved. Thus, the trumpet brooch Victoria No. 1 is clearly that referred to as 'a very fine fibula, broken but unworn' found in the cave by Smith (1865, 223). The repoussé brooch Victoria No. 2 is also noted as Smith's own find (Smith 1865, 217). A second repoussé brooch (accession number 1882.92), not recatalogued here, was illustrated by Smith as from the site (Smith 1865, opposite p. 217 No. 2). It was presumed to be lost by Dearne and Lord (1998, No. 8.31). A third such (Dearne and Lord 1998, No. 8.30), again not recatalogued here, was illustrated by Smith (1865, opposite p. 217 No. 1) from an electrotpe of the original. This electrotpe also passed to Saffron Walden Museum (accession number 1882.91). Moreover the bone toggle Victoria No. 18 is of a form unique to the Settle caves, and several other pieces such as the ?bucket rim bindings and 'pierced spoon' handle (Victoria Nos 6–8 and 17) are object types noted in previous studies as particularly frequent finds in Victoria Cave (Dearne and Lord 1998, 79, 97f.). The evidence for the reliability of the provenance of the Victoria Cave material is therefore considerable. Indeed, it is fairly clear how this material came into Smith's possession. Two of the items (Victoria Nos 1 and 2) were Smith's own finds. A third brooch (Dearne and Lord 1998, No. 8.31) was a gift to Smith from Joseph Jackson, the excavator of the cave and Smith's guide at the time he visited the site and found the other brooches (Smith 1865, 217). The electrotpe of a fourth brooch can only have been made by Jackson and given to Smith or made by Smith from the original which Jackson loaned him, for the original subsequently remained in Jackson's family until it entered the present Lord Collection (Dearne and Lord 1998, 33ff. (Provenance Group JK)). That the other pieces provenanced Victoria Cave and included here were gifts from Joseph Jackson must be almost certain. Smith, one of the few people to describe Jackson's work in print, had visited the cave with him and published a list of finds from the cave, certainly indicating that he had had access to Jackson's personal collection (Smith 1865, 208). Parts of the Jackson collection are also known to have been given away or sold on and before Jackson's death in 1886 (Dearne and Lord 1998, 34), and material entirely consistent with that published

here is known to be absent from what remains of it (now principally in the Lord Collection) (Dearne and Lord 1998, 34, 37f. and *passim*).

The likelihood that Jackson's collection also included finds from Dowkerbottom Hole Cave, Arncliffe, and that these can no longer be differentiated from Victoria Cave finds in the Lord Collection has been discussed elsewhere (Dearne and Lord 1998, 34f.). However, it appears likely that this lack of differentiation arose after Jackson's death. Therefore the Victoria Cave provenance for the pieces included below, which Jackson had previously given to Smith, should be taken at face value. Indeed, research since 1998 has provided more evidence that little of Jackson's collection actually came from Dowkerbottom Hole. It is also unlikely that Smith subsequently confused Jackson's finds from these sites. Indeed, he himself had visited Dowkerbottom and made minor finds there (Smith 1865, 203), which passed correctly provenanced to Saffron Walden Museum (accession number(s) including 1882.69), though they cannot now be isolated in the museum collection.

Aldborough

Some supporting evidence can also be adduced for the veracity of the Aldborough provenance of material deriving from the Smith Collection. The bone dumb-bell button Aldborough No. 47 (significantly part of the material whose provenance is otherwise presumed to rely on the lost 'Typed list Register B') appears in Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* (1852, pl. 23 No. 4). The distinctive groove around part of one of its ends makes it unquestionably the same object. On the same plate are two bone counters (Nos 19 and 20) which would match Aldborough Nos 51–52 and 48–50 respectively. Whilst Bishop (1996, 42 No. 248) identified Smith's No. 19 with an item in Aldborough Museum, and both of Smith's illustrations are far too unspecific for a particular item to be recognised given that the counter forms are common and standardised, either or both might be amongst the Saffron Walden material. Less equivocally the knife catalogued here as Aldborough No. 21 is so similar to one of two items numbered 8 on Smith's (1852) plate 26 that it is almost certainly the same object. It is only a little less certain that the awls Aldborough Nos 23 and 24 herein, are those shown unnumbered by Smith (1852) on the same plate between his Nos 1 and 2. It is, however, doubtful whether this means that these pieces, let alone the rest of Smith's material, came from the area of the excavation with which his volume is principally concerned, the Manor House garden/south-west quadrant of the town. Aldborough had been known as an ancient site even before the discovery of buildings in 1770 (Bishop 1996, 2), so that it is equally possible that at least some of the material came into Smith's possession well before or after 1852. Moreover he could have acquired it from various parts of the site and in various ways, such as purchases from local residents, his own casual finds and gifts from others. However, the evident reliability of much of the Victoria Cave materials' stated provenance and the inclusion of these few pieces in Smith's *Reliquiae Isurianae* strongly suggest that the museum's register and labels do all record accurate Aldborough provenances.

In the interests of completeness a little further material (Aldborough Nos 7–9) provenanced as from the site by notes on its storage bags has also been catalogued below. It entered Saffron Walden Museum from Mr Sam K. Barnes and although a Sam K. Barnes is recorded as donating material to the museum in 1836/7 it is not clear if that material included the items catalogued here or whether they represent a donation at another time.

THE CATALOGUES

The object groups from Victoria Cave and Aldborough are catalogued separately and

arranged by the material of which the objects are made, not by their function. This is largely to allow easier correlation with Dearne and Lord (1998), where functional classification was impossible for practical reasons. Illustrated items are marked *, the catalogue number and illustration number being the same. All dimensions are in cm and the following abbreviations are used: L = Length; W = Width; Ht = Height; Th = Thickness; Di = Diameter (Int = Internal; Ext = External). The numerical code in brackets following each entry is the Saffron Walden Museum accessions number where known, where necessary replaced/augmented by a note on provenance. All drawings are by the author.

A) VICTORIA CAVE

N.B. A circular ?gaming counter cut from a ?colour coated vessel (1882.32) is not included as its provenance 'Settle Caves' might indicate its origin in any of several sites investigated in the nineteenth century.

Objects of Copper Alloy

*1 Trumpet brooch (L 3.85). Internal chorded spring held on an axis bar formed by overlapping the ends of a wire suspension loop through a single pierced lug behind the head. The suspension loop is clasped by a sheet collar with two frontal grooves and would have been prevented from falling forwards by a broken cast nib on the top of the head. The head is fairly well swept back with a marginal groove. The upper bow is plain and the knop a rather fat, faceted button clasped by acanthus/petalling flanked by triple cross mouldings, the central register in the lower group at least knurled, and all separated by rather deep and wide flutes. Only a stub of the lower bow remains but enough to identify a central ridge (not just an arris) and marginal ridges integral with the lowest register of the triple cross moulding, and defining two vertical panels. The back of the bow is entirely flat. (1882.36.1)

The axis bar construction has been noted as characteristic of brooches in the Settle caves, perhaps indicating a common origin (Dearne and Lord 1998, 53ff.), though it is not restricted to this area. Classic Trumpet brooches belong to some unestablished point before c. 75 to 150/75. The slightly aberrant button of the knop and flat back to the bow need have no chronological value but the lower bow does indicate that this was not entirely a classic Trumpet brooch and brings to mind elements of later Celtic decorated sub-types with stumpy bows, but it would be unsafe to try and use it to refine the dating as so little remains.

*2 Circular Plate brooch (Di 3.5). Hinged pin between two pierced lugs. The plate is slightly ragged and heavily pitted with no trace of the silver or silvered repoussé decorated plate that would originally have been soldered on. (1882.93)

The hinged pin, at least in the north, strongly suggests that the repoussé plate had a triskele design and the limited dating indications may suggest a range from the late first century into the early third with a second century emphasis (see the discussion in Dearne and Lord 1998, 62f.).

*3 Penannular brooch (Ext Di (maximum) 2.5). Slightly oval circular sectioned hoop with looped on humped pin and frontally flattened milled knob terminals. (1882.36.2)

Fowler (1960) type A2; first to fourth century with a possibility that the second and third centuries are emphasised.

*4 Finger Ring (Di c. 1.9). (?Cast imitation) braided wire. Penannular form with plain terminals (or closed form with break across worn section). (1882.38)

Late third/fourth century.

*5 ?Shield binding (L 7.3). Ragged, cracked and flattened U-sectioned sheet binding fragment with a projecting semi-circular lug with central nail hole at one point. (1882.37)

The identification as specifically military shield binding is strengthened by the presence of the lug.

*6 ?Bucket rim binding (L 5.9). Curved, rectangular sectioned sheet binding fragment with nail hole. (1882.37)

*7 Ditto (L 5.6). Similar, U-sectioned. (1882.37)

8 Ditto (L 5.3). Ditto, flattened. (1882.37)

Though more often U- than rectangular-sectioned, similar binding fragments are unusually common in the Settle caves and features of unpublished pieces suggest that they bound bucket rims (Dearne and Lord 1998, 79).

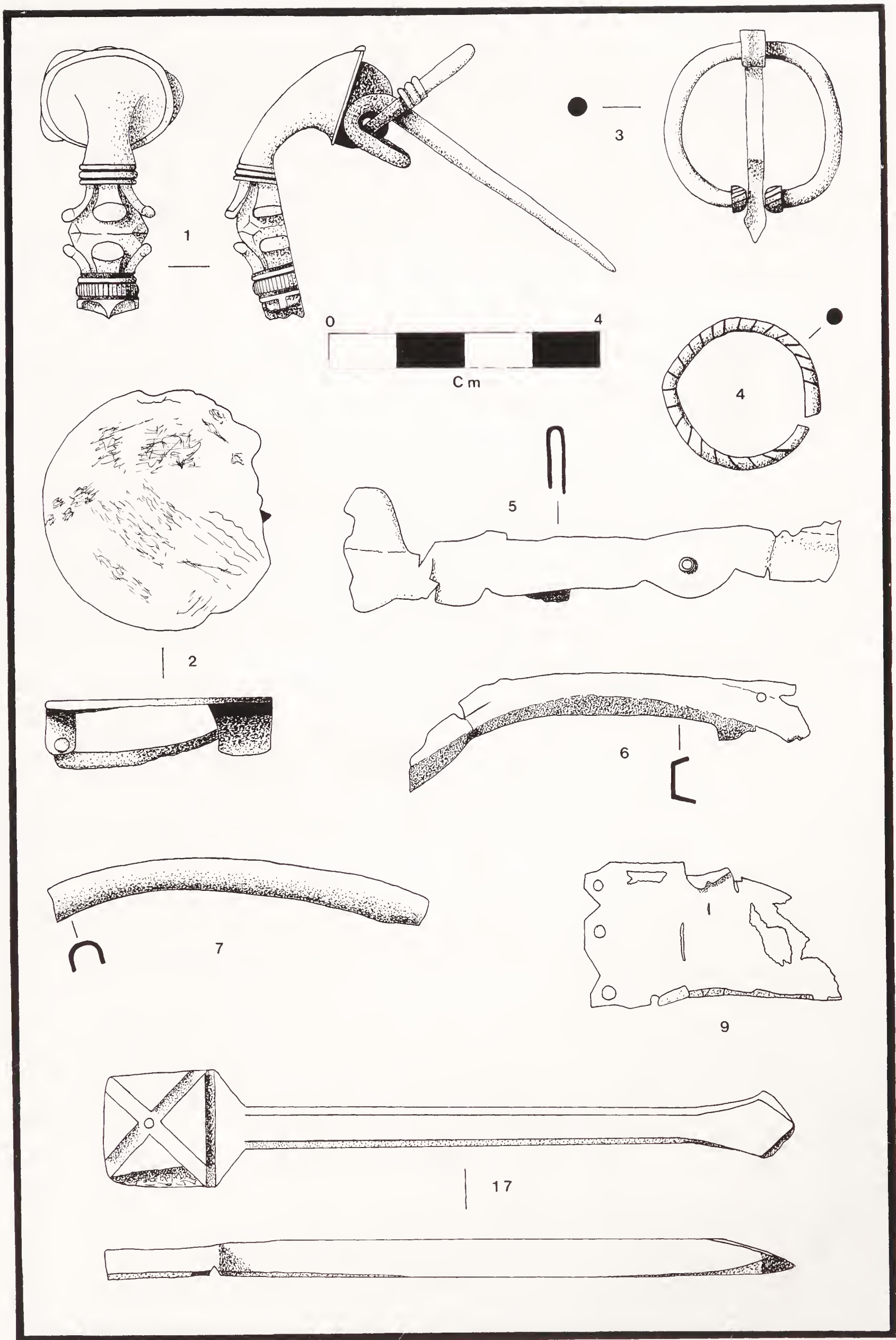


Fig. 1. Victoria Cave Copper Alloy and (No. 17) Bone/Antler Finds.

- *9 ?Belt tongue plate (L 3.75). Very thin sheet rectangle with leading edge cut to give three angular lobes, each with a circular rivet hole, and sides with folded up or over margins. One end ragged and a number of corrosion holes. (1882.37)
- 10 Curved strip (L 6.75; W 1.1; Th 0.003) with two possible nail/rivet holes. (1882.37)
- 11 ?Offcut (L 5.3; Th 0.05). Irregular strip with amorphous expansion at one end and single ?nail hole at other. Front and back flat, sides ?cut at an angle. (1882.37)
- 12 Fragment (L 3.8; W 3.2; Th 0.06). Amorphous with single nail hole. (1882.37)
- 13 Fragment (L 1.9; W 1.1; Th 0.005). Domed with single nail hole. (1882.37)
- 14 Fragment. Lost. (1882.37; the register lists ten 'riveted' bronze sheeting fragments of which nine are represented above)

Objects of Iron

- 15 Buckle. Now in six pieces and problematic to measure or reconstruct. Possibly late Roman form. (1882.40)
- 16 'Finger (or ear) ring in iron'. Lost. (1882.39)

Objects of Bone/Antler

- *17 'Pierced spoon' (L 10.1). Rather irregularly faceted smooth shaft expanding to a square head with a circular hole at the centre of an incised saltire on the front face and unworked on the back. Broken at the very top of the bowl and some damage to the head. (1882.41b)
- The notable concentration of 'pierced spoons' in the north and especially Victoria and other Settle caves has been discussed at length in Dearne and Lord (1998, 97) where the evidence for a date in the first and earlier second centuries is also set out. Their function remains unclear but they may broadly have been decorative or even ritual items, one possibility being that they were hair ornaments. The head decoration here parallels that on other pieces from Victoria Cave (op. cit., 92ff. Nos 13.26, .30 and .33).*
- *18 Toggle (L 5.1). Hollow with central circular piercing and waisting either side of it. Incised lines coinciding with the waistings and traces of incised diagonal lines towards one end indicate largely lost decoration. Damage (?some subsequent to excavation) to both ends. (1882.43)
- The form is unique to the Settle caves and already well represented at Victoria Cave with most examples showing polish as here and a similar decorative scheme (Dearne and Lord 1998, 98).*
- *19 Double-sided comb fragment (L 2.9). One end of a comb made of a thin sheet of antler (or possibly bone) with a plain strip-like end bar and narrow, damaged centre bar retaining interdentine grooves on one side (0.025 centre to centre) and possible traces of teeth (? 0.16 centre to centre) on the other. (1882.41a)
- The absence of any trace of a rivet hole, even though the centre bar is preserved to some length, suggests, but cannot guarantee, that this is part of a one-piece not composite bone comb. One-piece combs are much less common than composite examples in the Roman period and examples with plain rectangular end bars are principally post-Roman. However, an example from Ilchester (Leach 1994, 125 No. 50) was apparently found below a mosaic.*
- *20 Knife handle plate (L 6.2). Broken, with a convex surface and both clear saw marks and hollowing to take a tang on the back. Brown patina. (?1882.42; not specifically listed)
- *21 Fitting (L 6.8). Flat backed convex strip, broken at one end and across a drilled (?rivet) hole on the same side as a projecting lobe holding a countersunk circular hole, beyond which the strip is narrowed and terminates in a polished curving end. (?1882.42; not specifically listed)
- No parallel has been noted for this piece which seems unlikely from the placing of the rivet hole to have been a simple knife handle, even if the pierced lobe were intended just as a suspension point.*

Coins

(1882.68: 'Two Third Brass coins (one of Crispus)')

22 Ae; now cannot be isolated in museum collection.

23 Ae of Crispus.

Obv. bust l. FL IVL CRISPVS NOB CAES

Rev. Camp gate surmounted by a star between two turrets

PROVIDENTIAE CAESS (mm. not clear)

As RIC VII (Trier), 452 (AD 324-25)

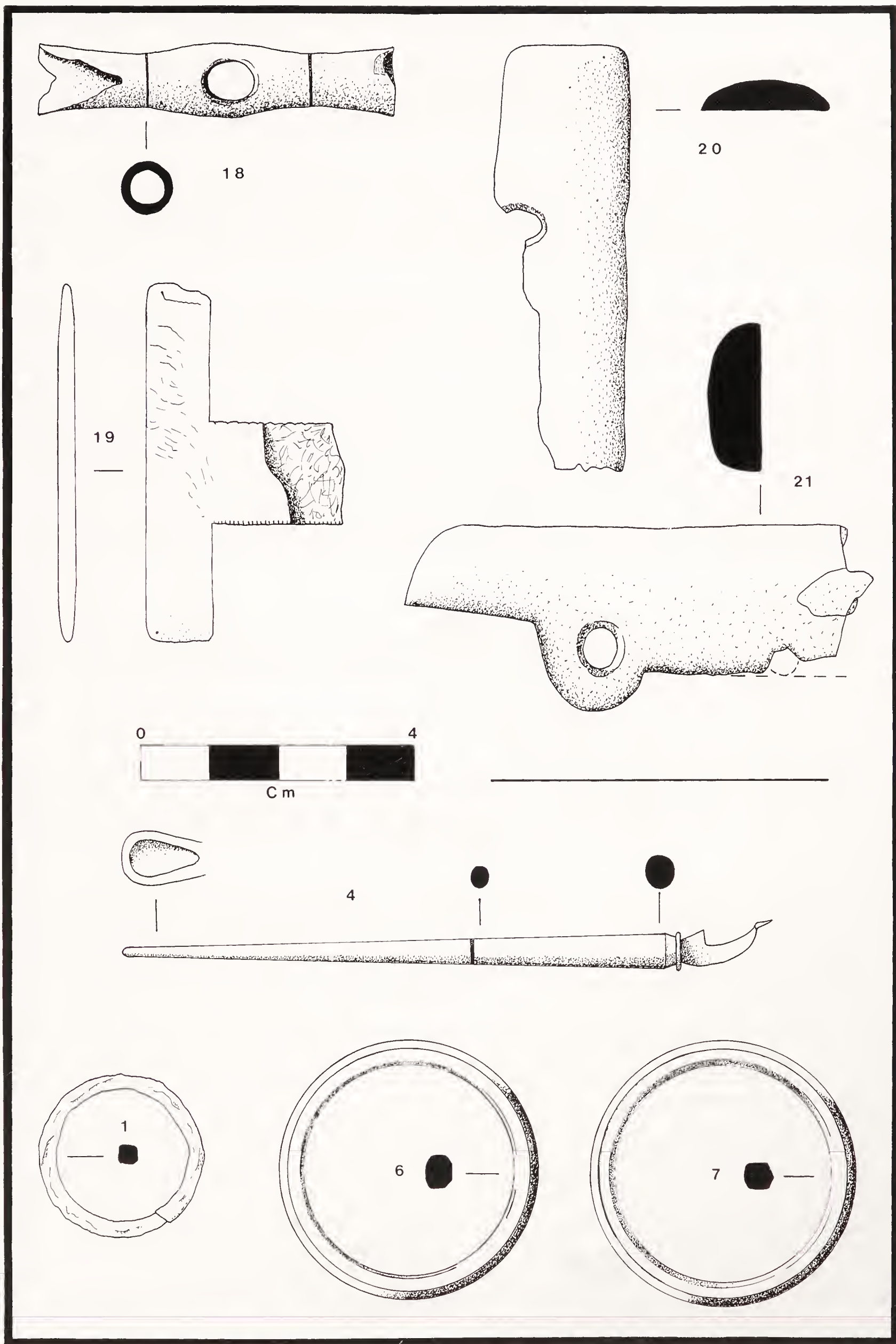


Fig. 2. Victoria Cave Bone/Antler Finds and (below) Aldborough Copper Alloy Finds.

Other Material

Also amongst the Victoria Cave material deriving from Smith is a small board with one human tooth glued to it and the glue marks from fifteen further (lost) ?teeth. Original affixed labels read:

Romano-British No. 17: Human teeth from an ancient skull found in Victoria Cave nr. Settle Yorkshire. Probably the remains of one of the British natives who fled hither for shelter from the conquering Saxon invaders. From Mr. H. E. Smith's collection 1882. Presented by G. S. Gibson, Esq.

Presumably this is part, ?with Nos 20 and 21 above, of (1882.42), which the accessions register describes as 'Human and other teeth and fragments of animal bone'.

B) ALDBOROUGH

N.B. A small amount of pottery from the site including two stamped samian vessels and colour coated ware sherds (1882.44, .45, .46, .48, .49 ?and .50) and a small group of glass (1882.49) now intermixed with glass from Great Chesterford are excluded from the catalogue. At least one further iron object (perhaps a bolt head or knife but more likely a nail) appears now to be lost, as the register lists nineteen such items (1882.53) but only eighteen are extant.

Objects of Copper Alloy

*1 Finger ring (Int Di 1.9). Originally ?square-sectioned bar formed into ring with overlapped, hammered ends. Crude. (1882.?; not noted in surviving register but provenance and donation by Gibson confirmed by original museum label)

2 Ditto (Int Di 1.4; Ext Di 2.1). Cast. (Ditto)

3 Ditto (Int Di 1.6; Ext Di 2.0). Cast. (Ditto)

*4 Toothpick (L 9.5). Oval-sectioned shaft tapering towards, and flattened and rebated at one end to form a small scoop; expanding towards the other which terminates in a comma-shaped tooth pick (with damaged tip) at right angles to the plane of the ear scoop and separated from the shaft by a flute and cross moulding. (Temporary number 10, 167; not traced in any museum documentation)

Comma-shaped, sometimes openworked or otherwise decorated, toothpicks are a well known fourth-century form, frequently though not invariably having a small ?ear scoop (?? or possibly condiment spoon) at the other end of, more usually, a twisted shaft. A variation with a ladle/strainer at the other end is also known (Richborough: Bushe-Fox 1949, 130 No. 126; Kaiseraugst and Thetford: cf. Johns and Potter 1985, 333). In copper alloy they are not particularly common as site finds in Britain (though note a gilded one in a fourth-century context at Orpington (Philp 1996, 57 No. 9)) but a number are known in silver, especially as parts of late Roman hoards including silver spoons (Hoxne: Bland and Johns 1993, 6; Canterbury, unprovenanced and citing one from Dorchester, Dorset: Johns and Potter 1985, 326 No. C17, 345 No. U7, and 333; East Anglia: Mills 1995, 59 No. M163 misidentified as a spoon). They were presumably used at table and perhaps mainly by the upper levels of late Romano-British society.

5 Ring (Int Di 1.8; Ext Di 2.5). Cast; circular section. (1882.?; not noted in surviving register but provenance and donation by Gibson confirmed by original museum label)

*6 Ring (Int Di 3.1; Ext Di 3.9). Cast; section curved internally and with five facets externally. (Ditto)

*7 Ring (Int Di 3.1; Ext Di 3.9). Cast; section as last but three facets (Barnes donation).

8 Ring (Int Di 2.0; Ext Di 2.75; Th 0.3). Cast; section as last (Barnes donation).

9 Ring (Int Di 1.85; Ext Di 2.55; Th 0.3). Cast; section as last but large unremoved 'blocks' of casting flash at two opposite points of the external circumference indicating casting in a series mould producing 3+ items (Barnes donation).

Although Nos 7-9 have no trace of bronze disease and cast rings may have many functions and dates these may all be Roman box/furniture ring handles, similarly sized and sectioned pieces coming from, for example, a ?box in

the Colchester Boudiccan destruction debris (Crummy 1992, 165f. Nos 640-42) and slightly more elaborate ones from box burials at Skeleton Green (Partridge 1981, 312ff. Burial 3 f-g; Burial 4 b-m).

Objects of Iron

10 Penannular brooch (Ext Di 3.25). Badly corroded with remains of looped on pin and ?turned back terminals. (1882.51)

One of Fowler's (1960) D types.

*11 Slide key (L 7.5). Well preserved, with rectangular handle tapering in thickness towards a large eye; and abruptly narrowing at the other end to a shank with a bit at right angles with four teeth. (1882.52)

Manning (1985, 92f.) type 2; a common Roman form.

*12 (??Military) buckle (W 2.25). Broken and D-shaped; lozenge section with tongue stub ?looped onto integral ?circular section bar. (1882.51)

Whilst D-shaped buckles are well known as Roman military fittings, particularly on lorica segmentata and late Roman belts (where their loops can be lozenge-sectioned as here) they are almost invariably of copper alloy and larger than the present piece. Discussing two examples from graves at Lankhills, Clarke (1979, 278) cited some

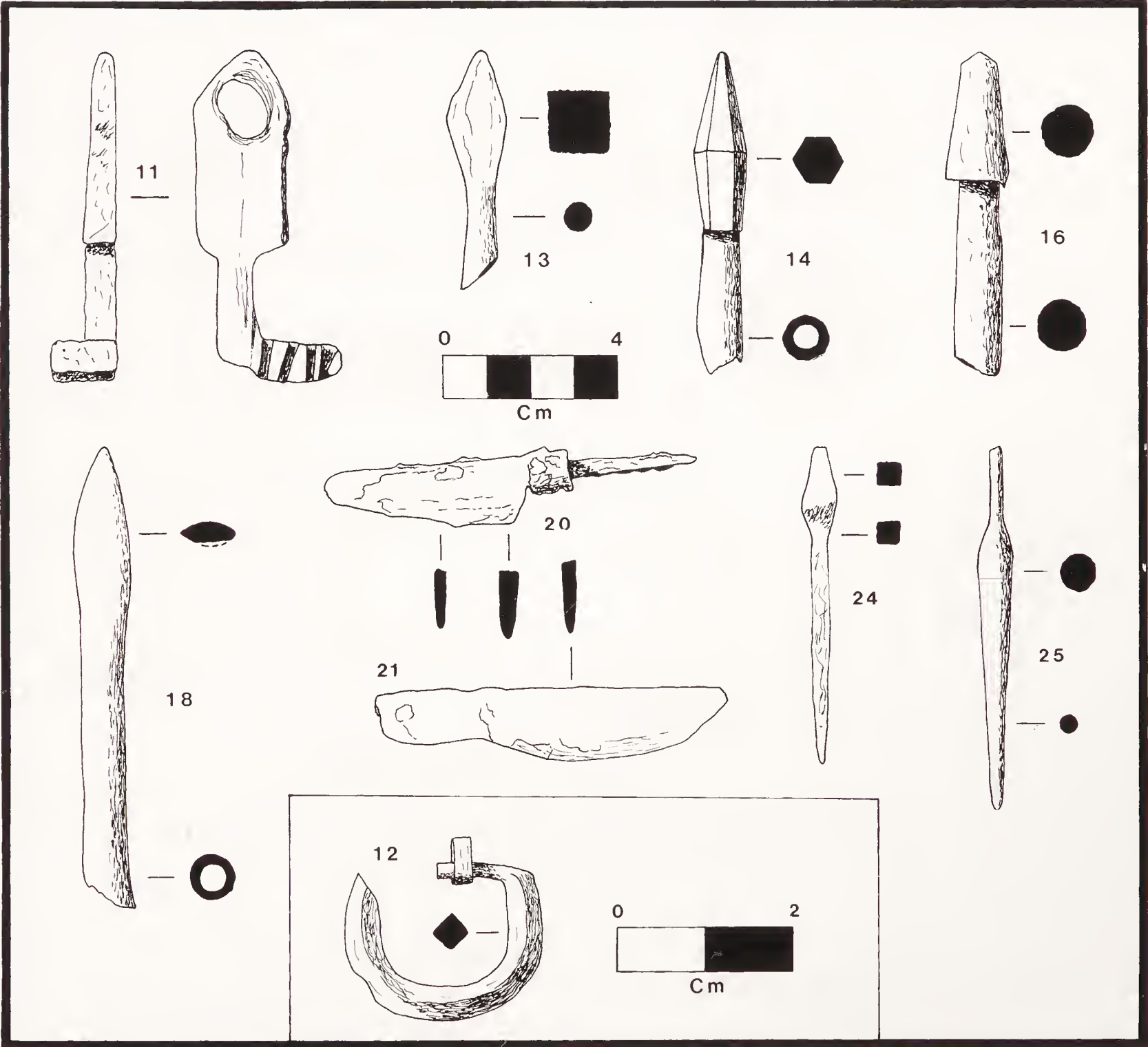


Fig. 3. Aldborough Iron Finds.

evidence for the Romano-British use of iron buckles in general (some with D-shaped loops) and questioned earlier suggestions that iron buckles were indicative of Germanic influence. However, probably more relevant are the small iron buckles, similar to though still larger than the present one, recovered at Vindolanda (Bidwell 1985, 147 Nos 97–100), including one dated c. 275–300. It is therefore possible that the present item is (late) Roman and military in origin.

*13 Military bolt head (L 5.4). Square-sectioned and lozenge shaped with a longish circular-sectioned neck and presumably broken above the socket. (1882.53)

*14 Ditto (L 7.3). Unusually well preserved especially on one side which shows clear facets indicating an octagonal section, lozenge shape and distinct step above the hollow circular-sectioned socket. (1882.53)

15 Ditto (L 8.15). Very similar but slightly less well preserved. (1882.53)

*16 Ditto (L 7.3) ?Circular-sectioned, pyramidal with well defined shoulders and circular-sectioned neck, the socket either missing or filled with corrosion products. (1882.53)

17 Ditto (L 7.35). Similar, hollow socket, very corroded. (1882.53)

*18 Ditto (L 10.5). Narrow leaf shaped with long undifferentiated neck expanding to hollow circular-sectioned socket. (1882.53)

19 Ditto (L 8.8). Heavily corroded and uncertain form. (1882.53)

All of these projectile points agree in size and form with the presumed catapult bolt heads in e.g. the Durden Collection (Manning 1985, 170ff.), most being Manning's type I, but No. 18 being type IIA. Whether the variations in form had any great significance is not clear. Whilst circular-sectioned bolt heads are common, only a small number of clearly octagonal-sectioned ones are published from Britain, the largest group deriving from the unusually good preservation conditions at Vindolanda (Birley 1996, 26–29 Nos 67–87) with one from Corbridge (Bishop and Dore 1988, 193 No. 14) and two more from Carlisle (Padley 1991, 150 Nos 471–72). Where dated these almost all belong to the period c. AD 90–140 but whether this is significant may be doubted and many bolt heads may have originally been octagonal in section but have corroded to appear circular-sectioned.

*20 Knife (L 8.4). Small (probably reduced by frequent whetting) with a flat back, on the line of the ?circular-sectioned tang, perhaps falling to the tip, and a straight or slightly convex blade angled up at the back. A corroded stop for the handle at the tang/blade junction has the appearance at least of being integral with the knife. (1882.53)

Probably Manning (1985, 114f.) type 11a (or 13) but much altered by whetting. The handle stop is uncommon but Roman knives and cleavers with stop rings may be noted for instance from The Lunt (Hobley 1969, 119 No. 6), Catsgore (Leech 1982, 119 No. 16), Ilchester (Leach 1980, 255 No. 1), Dunstable (Matthews and Hutchings 1972, 27 item e) and Dragonby (May 1996, 303 No. 80).

*21 Ditto (L 8.0). Again probably much reduced by whetting. Flat back on line of rather wide rectangular-sectioned tang with a trace of a concave curve between them. Fairly wide convex-shaped blade curving or running angularly up to the tip and curving back to the tang. (1882.53; previously illustrated by Smith as noted above)

Manning (1985) type 15.

22 Ditto (L 6.5) Badly corroded with a tapering tang perhaps on the mid line, a straight back sharply angled down and the blade now at least parallel to it. (1882.53)

Perhaps Manning (1985) type 9 but too poorly preserved for certainty.

23 Ditto. Corroded fragment. (1882.53)

Perhaps Manning (1985) type 11a.

*24 Awl (or punch) (L 7.2). Square-sectioned with a broken pyramidal tang and imperfectly preserved point. (1882.53; previously illustrated by Smith as noted above)

*25 Ditto (L 8.3). Similar but circular-sectioned with ?complete tang. (Ditto)

Most probably leather workers' awls of Manning (1985, 40) type 4a though the points are imperfect and they could alternatively be punches.

26 (Ext Di 4.0). Corroded ring. Apparently blunt expanded terminals either side of a gap probably due to corrosion and damage. (1882.51)

27 (Ext Di 4.4). Ditto. (1882.51)

28 Probable swivel end of large chain link of rectangular-sectioned bar. (1882.53)

29–33 Corroded nails. (1882.53)

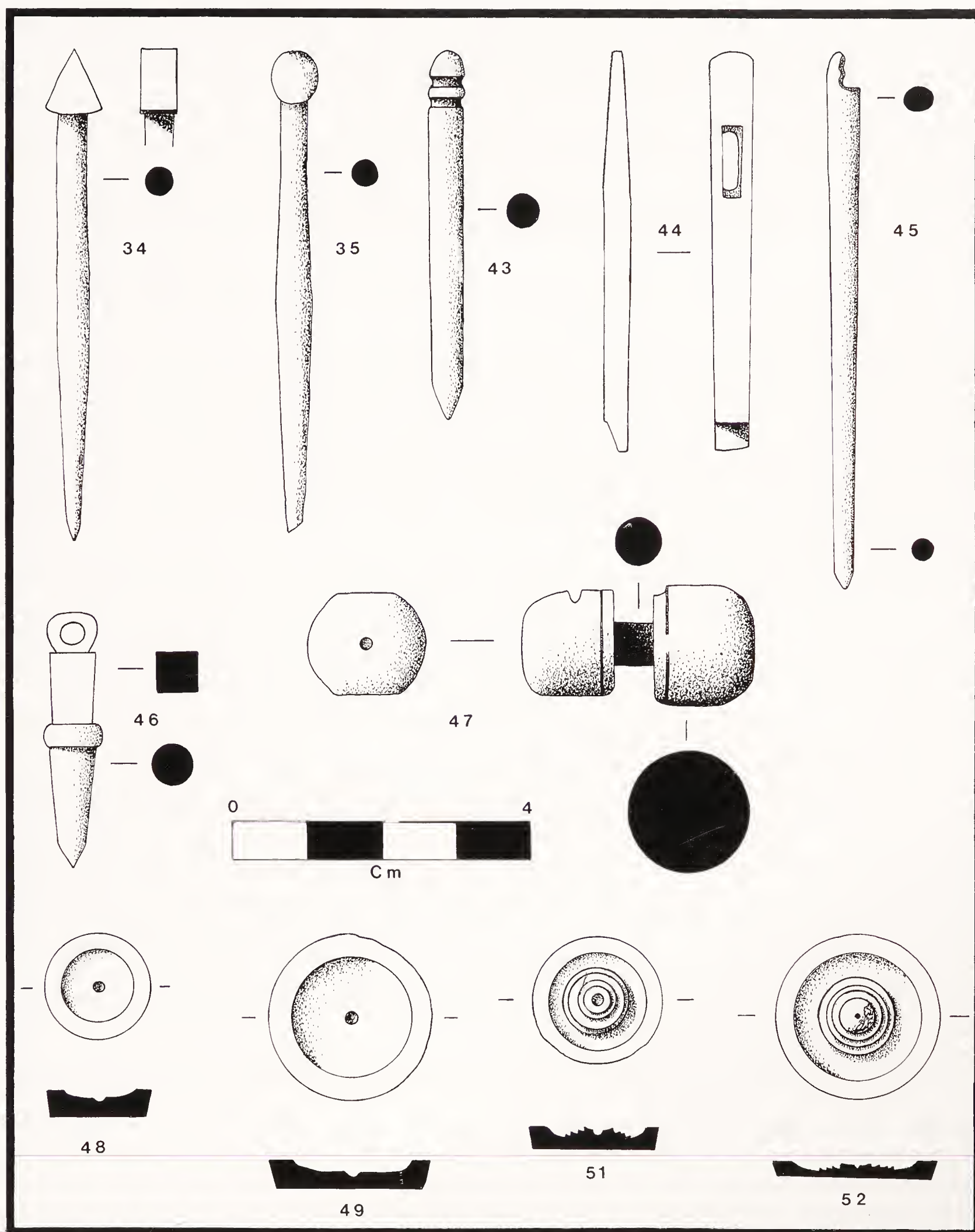


Fig. 4. Aldborough Bone/Antler Finds.

Objects of Bone/Antler

*34 Hair pin (L 6.5). Circular-sectioned shaft with flat triangular head. (Typed List Register B)
No parallel has been traced for this form of head.

*35 Ditto (L 6.4). Circular-sectioned shaft with bulged mid section and simple bun head. (Ditto)
Crummy (1979) type 3 dated c. AD 200 into the fifth century.

36–41 Hair pin shaft fragments. Circular-sectioned (with mid section bulge Ls 7.2; 9.7; 7.0; without bulge Ls 4.5; 4.9; 5.5). (Ditto)

42 Ditto (L 5.9). Circular-sectioned. Probably unfinished. (Ditto)

*43 ?Peg (L 4.9). Circular-sectioned with steeply angled point and two transverse grooves below a plain conical head. (Ditto)

Almost certainly cut down from a hair pin of Crummy (1979) type 2, dated c. AD 50–200/250, for use as a ?board game peg.

*44 Needle (L 5.3). Broken, with slightly spatulate head with rectangular piercing. (Ditto)

*45 Ditto (L 7.1). Oval-to-circular-sectioned, broken across the eye and deliberately stained green. (Ditto)

*46 ?Stopper (L 3.3). A short, circular-sectioned, tapering shaft with a steeply angled point below a bead moulding and a rectangular block topped by a suspension loop. Finely worked with a very smooth surface. (Ditto)

Presuming that this is Roman it is unlikely to be a pendant and seems to be purpose made as a glass ?scent bottle stopper with the bead preventing over-insertion, the rectangular block being for grip and the loop for a cord tied to the bottle to prevent loss. Few examples are published from Roman sites in Britain, but a similar if more decorated example from Richborough was engraved by Smith (1850, 86 bottom left), a much plainer (?and much larger) possible example from Aldborough itself appears on Smith's (1852) unscaled plate 23 No. 4, one with a hollowed knob head but no suspension loop was identified at Neatham (Millet and Graham 1986, 124 No. 404) and it resembles two others from Caerleon (Żienkiewicz 1986, 207 No. 10; 209 No. 26). The last three all appear to be later second or third century in date.

*47 Dumb-bell button (L 3.0). Narrow, circular-sectioned bar joining two slightly elongated hemispheres with grooves delimiting slight buttons at their inner ends. One outer end retains a lathe chuck point but heavy wear and polish particularly at this end has flattened the 'front' and 'back', a groove has been cut round part of this hemisphere's diameter and a step has been cut round part of the diameter of the inner end of the other. (Ditto; previously illustrated by Smith 1852, pl. 23, No. 4)

N.B. Burley (1955/6, 177) noted this find in discussing the Traprain Law dumb-bell buttons but provenanced it wrongly as from Victoria Cave.

Dumb-bell buttons are known, principally in the north, in both copper alloy and bone. The form here is typical, though the buttons on the inner ends of the hemispheres are usually far better defined. Copper alloy examples dated AD 71/4–86 at Castleford (Cool and Philo 1998, 116 Nos 782 and 784) confirm that they were in use in the late first century as MacGregor (1976, 134) suggested, while a bone example in the Corbridge hoard (Allason-Jones and Bishop 1988, 83 No. 285) ought to indicate broadly Hadrianic use, supported by a hand-carved bone example from Derby (Langley and Drage 2000, 264 No. 35) dated c. AD 120–140. A mid-Antonine bone dumb-bell button at South Shields (Bidwell and Speak 1994, 191 No. 77) may extend this range and MacGregor (1976, 134) suggested that they continued into the early third century.

*48 Gaming Counter (Di 1.3) Lathe turned with central dishing and bevelled edges. (Ditto)

*49 Ditto (Di 2.2). Similar, slightly irregular. (Ditto)

50 Ditto (Di 2.2). Identical, badly worn. (Ditto)

*51 Ditto (Di 1.8). Lathe turned, slightly irregular with central chuck point, four concentric dished grooves and bevelled edge. (Ditto)

*52 Ditto (Di 2.1). Similar. (Ditto)

Nos 48–50 are Greep type 2 (= Jewry Wall type A = Colchester type 1; see Greep 1986, 202ff.; Greep 1998, 271ff.; and Crummy 1983, 91). Nos 51 and 52 are Greep type 3 (= Jewry Wall type B = Colchester type 2; op. cit.). Greep (1998, 272) dates type 2 to AD 125–200 with some continuance into the late Roman period and type 3 to the whole Roman period.

DISCUSSION

The present collections of material do not alter the date ranges already established for Victoria Cave and Aldborough. At Victoria Cave pottery evidence indicates Romano-British activity from the late first to at least the late fourth century (Buckland 1998, 130), though coins of post-346 are absent (Shotter 1998, 52). The one identifiable coin of Crispus in the present group of material is discussed below but does not alter the site's

date range. The only find that may have at all significant dating implications is the bone comb (Victoria No. 19) which, whilst it might be Romano-British, is of a form more associated with post-Roman periods. If it is of the latter date it would add to the small amount of evidence for probably casual post-Roman activity at the site, which consists of a Dark Age comb, dubiously provenanced Tumbrel coin balance, early modern shoe buckles and a finger ring setting (Dearne and Lord 1998, 80 Nos 9.138–140; 109 No. 13.147; 119 No. 17.3). Aldborough is similarly believed to have been occupied, initially by the military and later by the civilian town, from the late first century until the end of the fourth century or even later (Bishop 1996, 1). All of the present material certainly fits into that time frame.

Rather the interest of the material is in the nature of the items included, and in the case of Victoria Cave in their value for the ongoing process of reconstructing the site's finds list. For Aldborough much of the material is unexceptional and consists of object types already represented in Bishop (1996). The aim in its publication is to supplement that work, which Bishop (1996, 3f.) noted was of importance to make a relatively unknown but important site's finds corpus accessible to a wider audience. Indeed, in this instance an aim has been to put on record the composition of a group of material which might otherwise escape the notice of future researchers concentrating on Yorkshire sites. However, the late Roman toothpick and bone scent bottle stopper are sufficiently unusual site finds to be worthy of note in themselves, and the military equipment is of particular interest in the context of the site. The seven bolt heads, Aldborough Nos 13–19, are the first to be recognised from the site. Iron preservation at Aldborough is relatively good, but given the limited investigation of the area (and probably selection by Smith of only well preserved items for publication or retention in his collection), their number may imply the manufacture, storage or use of mechanically fired weapons at *Isurium*. Even more than the known javelin and thrusting spearhead finds (Bishop 1996, 64 Nos 408–13) this suggests military activity at the site (rather than just the presence of military personnel). Whilst this may not be relevant to Bishop's conclusion (1996, 1ff.) that there was a fort at the site in the late first century it may strengthen his case for a possible second- and third-century military presence. It is therefore unfortunate that the degree to which bolt heads can be associated with different military units remains unclear and that they do not constitute close dating evidence (unless the pattern of loss of octagonal sectioned examples noted above is other than coincidental). The iron buckle, Aldborough No. 12, is less clearly military, but if it is, it may be that it too represents evidence for a (late) Roman military presence. As noted above, the Victoria Cave material catalogued herein allows the resolution of problems in interpreting Smith's account of his finds in the cave (1865, 217, 232). It also aids to an extent in reconciling nineteenth-century sources concerning the quantity of finds deriving from the site. Thus, identification of some of the brooches and the pierced spoon reduces the number of items in those categories now presumed lost on the basis of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century accounts (Dearne and Lord 1998, 38), though this still leaves finds from the site almost certainly missing. It may also now be suggested that Smith's reference to copper alloy 'strap-tags' (Smith 1865, 208; cf. Dearne and Lord 1998, 38) in fact refers to items such as Victoria No. 9 herein (and more fragmentary pieces such as Dearne and Lord 1998, 79 No. 9.121).

Some additional light is also shed on the coin list for the site and David Shotter writes:

In 1865 Henry Eckroyd Smith published a paper within which he attempted to achieve some clarity regarding the Roman coins found up to that time at Victoria Cave (Smith 1865, 208; Shotter 1998, 49). His list included a coin of Crispus, a son of Constantine I, and as the extant 'Pig Yard' (or Lord) collection also included a coin of Crispus (RIC VII (Siscia), 161 of AD 320–21) it was not an unreasonable assumption when the evidence for the site's coin finds was reviewed

in 1998 (Shotter 1998, 46ff.) to identify Smith's coin with that in the 'Pig Yard' collection. Indeed, in 1938 J. W. Jackson published a list of coins by then in the Pig Yard Museum (Jackson 1938) and this too included a coin of Crispus; although at the same time Jackson excluded the coin from a group said to have derived from the collection of Joseph Jackson (the (unrelated) main excavator of the site before 1870). The Roman coins acquired by Saffron Walden Museum from the Smith collection consisted of two *aes*-issues, one of which cannot now be isolated in the museum's collection. The second, however, is an issue of Crispus, of which the mint-mark cannot unfortunately be read (as RIC VII (Trier), 452 of AD 324–25). Thus, the coin of Crispus in Smith's list is not to be identified with that later recorded by J. W. Jackson in the 'Pig Yard' collection. Allowance, therefore, has to be made in the coin list (Shotter 1998, 50f) for an extra coin of period XVI, enhancing the already well represented Constantinian periods.

The 'new' Victoria Cave finds thus confirm the nature of a little more of the material that in 1998 could only be noted as lost and unspecifically recorded, but they also add to the cataloguable finds from the site pieces which were not previously known at all. The 'new' material, however, conforms to a distinctive pattern of find types already identified amongst the published corpus from the site (Dearne and Lord 1998, 140ff.). Significant features of this pattern include the presence of more coins than would be expected from a northern rural site, of a very high percentage of objects of personal ornament and dress, and further 'peaks' in the percentages of tools and fasteners. Moreover an unusually wide and, given the nature and situation of the site, unexpected range of functional categories of objects seem to be present, including military equipment, evidence of bone/antler working and copper alloy ?scrap. A provisional discussion of the previously published finds, which also took into account that much of the cave was inaccessible and lacked light, concluded that whilst some craft activity appeared to be indicated, particularly the working of bone and antler, much of the artefactual material might have derived from ritual use of the cave (Dearne and Lord 1998, 144f.).

The one exception to the present material's agreement with previously published finds is the possible implication that a human skull was found at the site. Although regrettably only one tooth remains on the Saffron Walden display board noted above, sixteen were evidently once present. The board also has a label apparently implying that they came from a human skull; though there may be a degree of ambiguity about this. However, human skeletal material recorded from the site during the extensive 1870s excavations consists only of thirteen teeth (Dearne and Lord 1998, 119), even though the site produced certain or possible (in some cases poorly recorded/provenanced) Paleolithic, ??Neolithic, ?Early Bronze Age and Later Bronze/Early Iron Age artefacts as well as the predominant Romano-British material (Dearne and Lord 1998, 31f., 90; Gilks 1998, 41–44). Indeed, a reference by Smith himself (1865, 215) to an earlier find by James Farrer of 'several human skulls from the Victoria Cave' appears to be at odds with other early commentators on work at the site who assert that only two teeth had been found, at least by the early 1860s. In this instance, and especially as some of the other commentators knew Farrer whereas Smith may not have, it seems very likely that Smith had confused the cave in question. The likelihood is rather that they came from Dowkerbottom Hole, Arncliffe, where, unlike Victoria Cave, Farrer is known to have sponsored excavations which did produce a number of skulls (Dearne and Lord 1998, 17; Dearne research in progress). Even so there is no reason to think that Smith would have come into possession of teeth from these Dowkerbottom skulls and so perpetuated a misattribution which was recorded on the Saffron Walden display board. Rather the Victoria Cave material in his collection seems to have come from the cave's main excavator before 1870, Joseph Jackson, and from his own finds on a single visit to the site. It is now impossible to be sure whether or not the teeth actually come from one skull, the rest of which was not preserved. Smith,

or whoever wrote the display board label, might only have been assuming that they had, perhaps because they were found in a group. None the less the existence of the display board does suggest that at some point before 1870 someone, probably Joseph Jackson, may well have recovered, if not a human skull, then at least a larger group of human teeth from the site than was previously presumed. It may therefore be that some of the pre-Roman if not Romano-British usage of the site in fact related at least in minor part to burial.

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FOUR COIN HOARDS FROM NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Craig Barclay

DEIGHTON

In November 1998 Shaughn Tyreman recovered a piece of bronze whilst metal detecting on farmland at Deighton, North Yorkshire. Upon cleaning, the fragment was found to weigh 8.62 g and to be formed from the melted and fused remains of at least four Constantinian *folles*. Parts of the designs of two of these coins were visible, but all fine details were obscured.

Catalogue

- 1 Follis; 16 mm +
obv) Bust, wearing crested helmet, left
- 2 Follis; 17 mm +
rev) PROVIDEN-[...]
Camp gate with two turrets; star above
- 3-4 Illegible

Although precise identification was rendered impossible by the poor state of preservation of the coins, the use of a camp gate as a reverse motif is datable to the period *c.* AD 324-26. After recording, the coins were returned to the finder.

NORTHALLERTON

In June 1997 Mr Ennis Bain recovered a hoard of thirty-nine Saxon pennies whilst metal detecting near Northallerton, North Yorkshire. The coins were stated to have been 'found at a depth of between eight and ten inches over an area 1 m square'. No trace of a container was found in association with the coins.

Upon examination all the coins were found to be Saxon pennies of tenth-century date and (apart from no. 1) of types associated with York and north-east England. One was struck in the name of King Eadmund (939-46), three in the name of Eadred (946-55), seven in the name of Eadwig (955-57) and twenty-eight in the name of Eadgar (959-75). With a single exception all of the coins were found to be of very similar design, bearing the name of the king on the obverse side, surrounding a small cross, and on the reverse the name of the issuing moneyer in two lines. The exception was a penny of Eadwig (no. 11) which bears a three-line inscription on the reverse.

The coins were found to be Treasure Trove at an inquest held at Northallerton on 20 November 1997. Fourteen of the coins were subsequently acquired by the Yorkshire Museum, whilst the remainder were returned to the finder.

Catalogue

No.	Ref.	Obverse	Reverse	Weight (g)
Eadmund				
1	HT 1	+ EADMVND RE	VIORN/ IGOTH	1.34
Eadred				
2	HT 1 NE	+EADRED REX	HVNR/ EDMO	1.30
3	HT 1 NE	+EADRED REX	HVNR/ EDMO	1.28
4	HT 1 NE	+EADRED REX	HVNR/ EDMO	1.49
Eadwig				
5	HT 1 NE	+EADƿIG REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.27
6	HT 1 NE	+EADƿIG REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.38
7	HT 1 NE	+EADƿIG REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.23
8	cf.HT 1 NE	+EADƿIG REX	HERIG/ ERMO quatrefoil below	1.56
9	HT 1 NE	+EADƿIG REX	AERIG/ ERMO	1.29
10	HT 1 NE	+EADƿIG REX	AERIG/ ERMO	1.45
11	cf. HT 3	+EADWIG REX	ACVL/ +IC +D +/ FMEF	1.52
Eadgar				
12	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HACV/ SMOT	1.38
13	HT NE V	+EADGAR·R·E·X·	MAN/ LET N reversed	1.40
14	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	EANV/ LFMO	1.32
15	HT NE V	+E:AD·GAR: REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.30
16	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.27
17	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.10
18	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.27
19	HT NE V	+EADGAR· REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.30
20	HT NE V	+EADG·AR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.19
21	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.19
22	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.27
23	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.49
24	HT NE V	+EADGAR· REX·	HERIG/ ERMO	1.39
25	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.22
26	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.40
27	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HERIG/ ERMO	1.42
28	cf. HT NE V	+E·A·DG·AR REX	HERIG/ ERMO quatrefoil above	1.33
29	cf. HT NE V	+ EADGAR REX	DVRA/ NDMO quatrefoils above and below	1.44
30	cf. HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	DVRA/ NDMO quatrefoil above	1.32
31	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	AESCV/ LFMO	1.38
32	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	BENE/ DIHT	1.34
33	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	BENE/ DIHT	1.34
34	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	BENE/ DIHT	1.30
35	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	BENE/ DIHT	1.37
36	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	BENE/ DIHT	1.29
37	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HARC/ ERMO	1.34
38	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HARC/ ERMO	1.28
39	HT NE V	+EADGAR REX	HARC/ ERMO	1.31

BEDALE

In January 1999 Mr Keith Thompson recovered a parcel of three silver coins of Henry VI whilst metal detecting on grassland near Bedale. The coins were all found together, at a depth of not more than 3 cm.

Catalogue

	Denomination	Issue	Mint	Reference	Weight (g)
1	Groat	Annulet	London	N. 1423; fleur on breast	3.22 (clipped)
2	Groat	Annulet	Calais	N. 1424	3.88
3	Penny	Rosette-Mascle	York	N. 1451(i)	1.02

All of the coins date from the early part of Henry VI’s first reign, the Annulet issue groats having been struck 1422–27, and the Rosette-Mascle issue penny 1427–30. Although the London mint groat is slightly clipped, none of the coins display signs of heavy wear. The penny, in particular, is in almost mint-fresh condition and is unlikely to have seen much circulation. It is accordingly likely that the group were deposited, either deliberately or as the result of the loss of a purse or similar container, within a few years of 1430. At Inquest, the coins were found to be Treasure. They were subsequently acquired by the Dales Countryside Museum, Hawes.

BROMPTON ON SWALE

On 3 October 1999 Mr R. Horseman recovered four Elizabethan silver coins whilst metal detecting in a stubble field near Brompton on Swale, North Yorkshire. The coins were spread over an area of c. 200 m², and buried at a depth of about 15–20 cm. On 10 October 1999 Mr C. Crooks recovered a further coin (no. 3) from the same site.

Although the coins were spread over a fairly wide area, they nevertheless appear to represent a distinctive and homogenous group. All are in good condition, and none of the coins recovered displays any trace of clipping. No low-value Tudor coins were recovered from the site, and it is accordingly probable that the pieces retrieved by Messrs Horeseman and Crooks represent all or part of a scattered hoard, rather than a series of casual losses made during the course of trade or other activities.

Catalogue

	Denomination	Initial Mark	Date	Weight (g)
1	Shilling	Martlet	1560–61	5.98
2	Shilling	Escallop	1584/5–87	6.30
3	Sixpence	Eglantine	1574	2.95
4	Sixpence	Sword	1582	2.73
5	Sixpence	Tun	1592	2.90

The coins were reported by the finders in accordance with the requirements of the Treasure Act (1996), and were subsequently disclaimed and returned to the finders.

FLAXTON: A TOWNSHIP IN TWO PARISHES

By David Bourne

Until designated a civil parish towards the end of the nineteenth century, Flaxton was a township in the parishes of Bossall and Foston, with the Foston portion lying in fourteen distinct and separate blocks scattered across the township, including one substantial block occupying a central position in the village settlement.

This paper attempts to show that:

- (1) The quarter or thereabouts of Flaxton township which lay in Foston parish stems from and relates to the fact that at the time of the domesday survey a quarter of the probable carucage of the township was a soke of the lordship of Foston;*
- (2) The central, Foston, part of Flaxton village can be equated with the settlement pertaining to the soke;*
- (3) Flaxton Township was a planned settlement, probably predating domesday.*

INTRODUCTION

Flaxton is a compact, near-rectangular parish in North Yorkshire lying about 15 kilometres north-east of York and north-west of the A64 road between York and Scarborough. The parish has an area of approximately 746 hectares (1865 acres) and measures approximately 4 km by 2 km, with its long axis lying north-east to south-west. Flaxton village itself is in the middle of the parish and comprises around 110 houses laid out very largely on the north-east side of a long green, which until recently was grazed by cattle. There is a church built in 1853 on the site of a chapel-of-ease which, from documentary evidence, dated from the early fourteenth century at the latest. The chapel was attached to Bossall church. The parish is served by two principal roads in the shape of a 'tee', one bisecting the parish and running broadly north-west to south-east, from Sheriff Hutton to the A64, and passing through the green, the other, from Strensall and York, meeting the first in the middle of the village. There is an undeveloped back lane behind the houses, and beyond this back lane is a series of long, narrow fields in ridge-and-furrow, varying from two to ten ridges or 'lands' in width, and known as the Crofts.

The village faces south-west and lies on or close to the 30-m contour. Behind the village the land rises gently and is rolling in nature, with a high point of 42 m towards the north-east boundary of the parish. To the south-west the land is much less undulating and falls away slowly to a stream, the boundary with Strensall common, and the 20-m contour.

The soils are variable tills, relatively free of surface stones, and with areas of sands and clays, including one area close to Strensall common which was worked in the nineteenth century for clay for brick and tile making. Much broad ridge-and-furrow land existed until the 1939–45 war and aerial photographs of the parish, taken by the RAF in 1946, show vestiges of this extending over virtually all the land to the north-east of the village, also to the north-west and to a lesser degree immediately to the south-west. Only further towards the south-west is it absent, indicative of the low-lying and wet nature of the soils in this area before post-enclosure land drainage. The presence of this former wetland area helps explain the earlier name of the township, Flaxton on the Moor. This wetland area, which represented perhaps one-third of the total area of the

parish, was divided by Cross Lane, formerly Lilling Lane, into the Low Moor and the Upper Moor. The one-time boundary between the Upper Moor and the open fields and town pasture to the north and north-east respectively is uncertain.

Until 1889 or shortly thereafter, when it was first designated a civil parish, Flaxton was a township lying within the two ancient and adjoining parishes of Bossall and Foston, and it is this anomaly which is the principal subject of discussion in this paper.

The boundaries of the township (and now of the parish) would seem to have remained unchanged since at least medieval times. To the south-west the boundary with the ancient parish of Strensall is the stream next to Strensall common. To the north-west, next to the township of Lillings Ambo (in Sheriff Hutton parish) and part of the township of Thornton le Clay (in Foston parish), the boundary is another stream, flowing westerly and ultimately into the Foss, of which about 1500 metres at the west end appears to have been straightened at some time in the distant past. The ancient road, now no more than a track, to Stittenham lies just within this length of the township boundary, and its presence may account for the straightening. To the north, next to the remainder of Thornton le Clay and Foston, the boundary is a third stream, this time flowing easterly and ultimately into the Derwent. To the north-east the boundary next to the township of Barton le Willows (in Crambe parish) is a substantial ditch and bank for part of its length, but the rest has been entirely lost by ploughing, probably resulting from common ownership of the land on either side of the boundary, certainly since 1843 and probably earlier. To the south-east the boundary next to the township of Harton (like Flaxton in Bossall parish) is for much of its length nearly straight and is coincident with field hedges and ditches.

The ancient parish of Bossall was large. It comprised some 3600 hectares (9000 acres) and included the townships of Buttercrambe, Sand Hutton, Claxton and Harton as well as three quarters of Flaxton. Foston was smaller with a little over 800 hectares (2000 acres), and included the township of Thornton le Clay and the remaining quarter of Flaxton. Both parishes lay within the wapentake of Bulmer.

There are numerous cases around the country where parishes have or once had detached portions lying within neighbouring parishes or where lands are or once were common to two or more parishes. What would appear to be unusual in the case of Flaxton is the approximate apportionment of three quarters to one parish and one quarter to the other, the geography of the apportionment, and perhaps the probable reasons behind it. To examine this the paper will first go back through time, to pick up certain events which related to the township as a whole and to set out the facts as known; and then come forward again, to try and discover how the Foston enclaves came about and why. Hereafter metric measures will go by the board!

The events to be examined are the publication of the first edition of the Ordnance Survey in 1856, the tithe award of 1843, the enclosure award of 1658 and the Domesday survey of 1086.

THE FIRST EDITION OF THE ORDNANCE SURVEY 1856

The first Ordnance Survey in the neighbourhood was carried out in 1851 and published in 1856 to a scale of 6 inches to one mile and showed clearly those lands in Flaxton township which lay within Foston parish. These lands were scattered across the township in fourteen blocks, both large and small, including one block which had the effect of dividing the actual village settlement into three: a central Foston area separating two Bossall areas.

The area of the township is quoted as 1864 acres 3 roods and 27 perches, including 39a. or. 9p. described as 'The Green and the roads called Cross Lane, Gennell Lane,

York Lane, Rice Lane and Oak Busk Lane . . . common to the Owners or Occupiers of certain Messuages in Flaxton T^p and Bossall and Foston Parishes'. By subtraction of the individual areas quoted for Foston by itself and for Thornton le Clay from the total quoted for Foston parish, it is possible to arrive at the area of 423a. 1r. 24p. for that part of Flaxton township lying within Foston. This represents 23.18 per cent of the total for Flaxton township after deducting the 39 acres of the green and common roads.

A reduced-scale copy of the 1856 map is reproduced with the Foston lands delineated in bold (Fig. 1); also reproduced is an enlargement from the same of the village area with the Foston lands again delineated in bold (Fig. 2).

THE TITHE AWARD 1843

The making of the tithe award was not a simple matter, and the tithe papers at the Public Record Office extend to eighty pages.¹ Firstly there was the problem of the township lying in two parishes, compounded by disagreement on the precise boundaries between the two. Secondly, and more importantly, there was a major disagreement between the vicar of Bossall and the freeholders of Flaxton as to the tithe payable to the vicar. This dispute had been running since certainly the early years of the eighteenth century and stemmed from the wording of the enclosure award of 1658 (see below). On two occasions counsel's opinion had been sought, and a court case was threatened by the vicar in the 1830s, but he died before it could be heard.²

After eight meetings spread over two-and-a-half years agreement was reached, a plan prepared showing *inter alia* the division between the two parishes and the award made.³ Perhaps not surprisingly, given that only nine years separate the two surveys (1842 and 1851), the boundaries of the Foston lands on the tithe map are the same as those on the 1856 Ordnance Survey map.

The total area of the township as given in the tithe award is 1827a. or. 10p. (including the green and common roads), some 37 acres less than recorded on the 1851 Ordnance Survey map. This difference appears to stem from area calculations, as the township boundary was unchanged between the two surveys. Unlike the tithe map, the 1856 map does not give the areas of individual parcels, so it is not possible without resort to the Ordnance Survey archives to discover where the differences arise.

The area of the Foston lands in the township as given in the tithe award is 408a. 2r. 0p. This represents *c.* 22.8 per cent of the total area of the township after deducting the 39 acres representing the green and common roads, slightly less than recorded by the (probably) more accurate Ordnance Survey in 1856.

The dean and chapter of Durham, as appropriators of the rectory of Bossall, were awarded (a) the rectorial tithe arising out of all the Bossall lands with the exclusion of the glebe lands of both Bossall and Foston (both lying within the Bossall part of the township) and (b) three quarters of the rectorial tithe of all the glebe lands. The rector of Foston was awarded (a) the rectorial and vicarial tithes arising out of the Foston lands and (b) one quarter of the rectorial tithe of all the glebe lands. The vicar of Bossall was awarded the vicarial tithe arising out of all the Bossall lands.

The fact that the Foston glebe lay in the Bossall part of the township and the rather peculiar treatment of the rectorial tithe of the glebe lands would seem to suggest a pre-existing arrangement, and this is confirmed by a Foston church terrier of 1777 which describes the Foston glebe as lying in 'the Lordship of Flaxton' and also states that 'of

¹ Public Record Office, Kew, Tithe Files, IR 18/11971.

² Borthwick Institute, York, Flaxton parish records, PR FLA 28.

³ BI, Flaxton tithe award, TA 432 M.

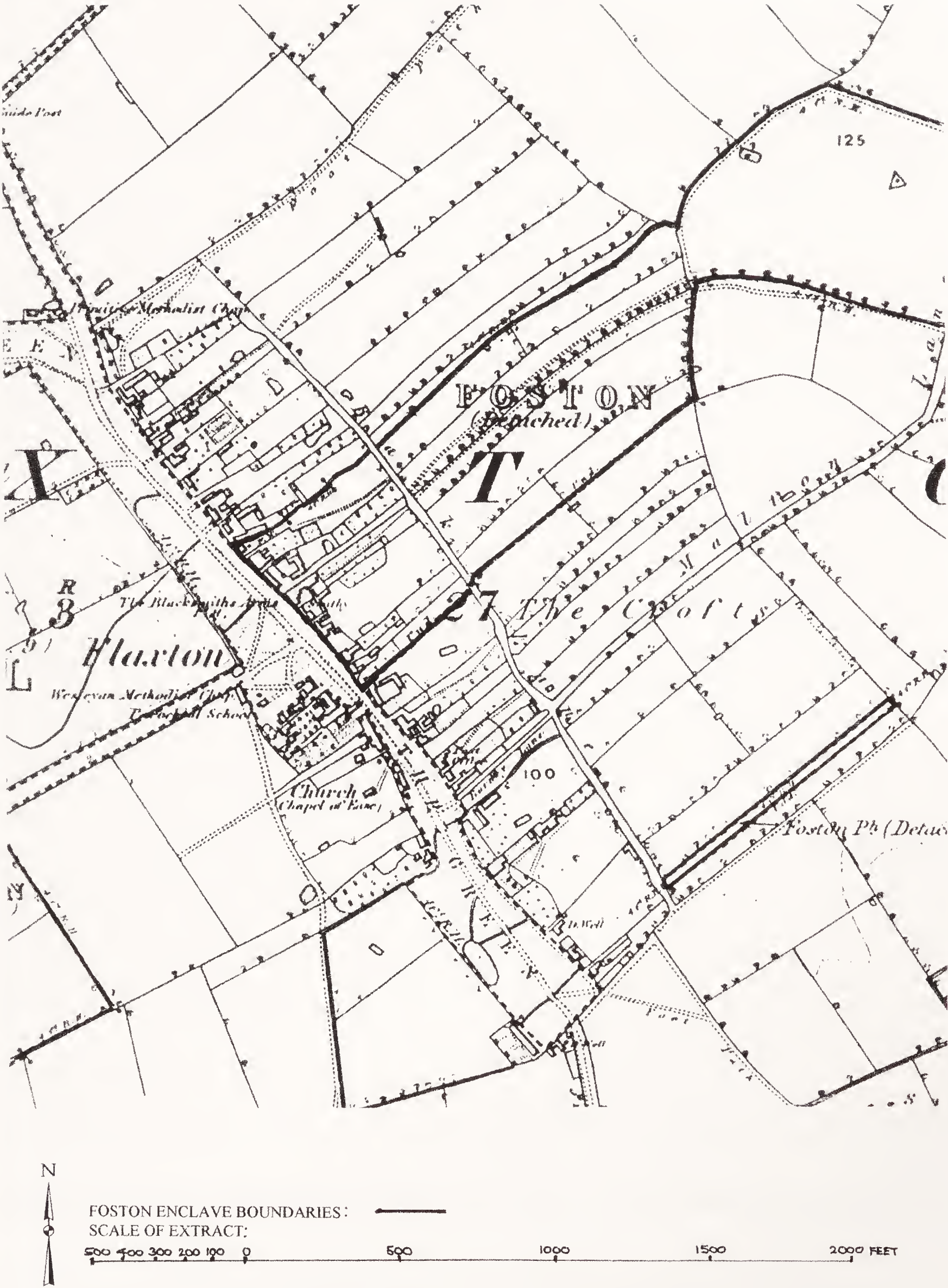


Fig. 2. Enlarged extract from Ordnance Survey 1856.

all the glebe belonging to the vicar of Bossall [in Flaxton], the fourth part of the tythes belong to the Rector of Foston'.⁴

THE ENCLOSURE AWARD 1658

The award is lost! However according to a note of 1838, by the then vicar of Bossall, quoting a case submitted to counsel by a former vicar in 1774, a copy was at that time in the vicar's hands.⁵

The award may be lost but Marmaduke Poole, a prominent Flaxton freeholder at the time of the award, copied the whole or part into a book. The book is lost! However the vicar of Bossall from 1729 to 1740 copied the whole or part of the entry in the book into the Bossall church register covering the period 1673 to 1683.⁶ His preamble reads 'Memorand of some particulars taken out of a book by Marmaduke Pool for the use and benefit of the Freeholders of Flaxton concerning the Enclosing of the Townfields and Common Moor in the year 1658 when the division was begun'.

The extract in the church register relates almost entirely to tithe and glebe matters, that is to say, those parts which would have been of interest to the vicar of Bossall and his successors. The text in relation to tithe matters is confusing, but whether the lack of clarity stems from the original award, from Marmaduke's text or from the vicar's is not discernible. Whatever the cause of the lack of clarity, the subsequent long-running dispute would seem to have stemmed from the ambiguities in this extract.

The award set out what would seem to have been a special rectorial tithe for the ensuing four-year period: namely a rent of 6*d.* per acre over 1610 acres, to raise £40 per year, of which £30 was to be paid to a Mr Humphrey Harwood (the receiver to parliament for the north) 'for the use of the commonwealth' and £10 to 'Mr Carville parson', the rector of Foston: an apportionment of 3:1. The right of the dean and chapter of Durham, as rector of Bossall, to the Bossall tithe had been usurped by parliament.

Elsewhere in the extract from the award it is stated that the vicar of Bossall was to receive 2*s.* 6*d.* a year per oxgang for 37½ oxgangs and the rector of Foston the same for 12½ oxgangs, the same apportionment of 3:1 as for the special rectorial tithe. As this was for tithe of corn it would seem that the vicar of Bossall was being entitled to receive a rectorial as well as his customary vicarial tithes. Oddly enough the landholders of the individual lands assessed for the 12½ oxgangs paying to the rector of Foston are listed but not those for the 37½ oxgangs paying to the vicar of Bossall; one would have expected the reverse to be the case, bearing in mind that it was the latter who was making the extract. However the fact that it was the Foston oxgang assessments which were listed will prove relevant later in this paper. They were held by Sir Thomas Norcliff (4), Marmaduke Pool (2), John Marshall (3), William Johnson (3) and the vicar of Bossall in respect of his glebe land (½), even though none of his glebe lay in the Foston part of the township as set out in the 1843 tithe award and plan.

The extract from the award also describes in detail, with acreages, the Bossall glebe. The extent and boundaries are to all intents identical with those set out in the 1843 tithe award. The glebe comprised approximately equal areas in each of the three open fields, named as *Girrol*, *Broad* and *Croft*, plus a further area allotted out of the common pasture of the town. It is clear from the wording that by the time of the award the glebe in certainly two of the open fields no longer lay in strips but had already been consolidated

⁴. BI, Foston parish records, PR FOS 16.

⁵. BI, PR FLA 26.

⁶. BI, Bossall parish records, PR BOSL 2.

and, at least in part, was already enclosed. The extract contains no description of the Foston glebe nor, incidentally, is there any mention of a map or plan.

That the actual enclosure went ahead, and probably immediately, is clear from the wording of various deeds dated as early as 1662 and throughout the 1660s and 1670s which relate to the sale of lands across the township, where all the parcels of land are described as 'closes', and in more than one case as 'close latelie enclosed' or similar wording.⁷

DOMESDAY SURVEY 1086

The four entries for Flaxton are brief in the extreme, lacking valuations and any information about the inhabitants. They record that: (1) the king was assessed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ carucates (20 oxgangs, on the basis of 8 oxgangs to a carucate), (2) the archbishop at 6 oxgangs and (3) Hugh son of Baldric at $6\frac{1}{4}$ carucates in the manor of Buttercrambe with its berewicks of Scrayingham and Flaxton. In addition to the above, (4) Count Alan as lord of Foston, where he had succeeded earl Morcar, had soke or jurisdiction over a further $1\frac{1}{2}$ carucates (12 oxgangs) in Flaxton. Sokes like this were common in Yorkshire; their date of origin debatable but certainly well before the Norman Conquest.

How much of Hugh's assessment related to Flaxton is uncertain. William Farrer, in his translation of Domesday in *The Victoria County History for Yorkshire*, gave in brackets an apportionment of the $6\frac{1}{4}$ carucates between the three townships with 2 oxgangs only being in Flaxton. Later, Sir Charles Clay used the same apportionment in *Early Yorkshire Charters*.⁸ However, no source for this apportionment has so far been traced, though it would appear from such evidence as is available that it is from a comparatively late date, perhaps fourteenth century.⁹ The validity for this apportionment is put in doubt by a statement on the dorse of an inquisition post mortem of 1282 following the death of Baldwin Wake that one-tenth of a knight's fee in Flaxton was pertaining to the manor of Buttercrambe. The statement was repeated in four subsequent inquisitions, with one of 1353 stating 'tenements held . . . by the service of a tenth part of a knight's fee'.¹⁰ Elsewhere in Flaxton, in a fine of 1268, one-tenth of a knight's fee was specifically equated with 10 oxgangs.¹¹

The above assessment, including the sokelands, and accepting initially that Hugh son of Baldric had 2 oxgangs, totals 5 carucates (40 oxgangs). On this basis the 12 oxgangs of the soke in the jurisdiction of Foston accounted for 30 per cent of the total assessment. Alternatively, if Hugh son of Baldric had 10 oxgangs as suggested by the reference of 1282 the total becomes 48 oxgangs and the soke 25 per cent of the total. To doubt such authorities as Farrer and Clay is risky; however given the known assessment of 50 oxgangs for tithing as at enclosure, a total of 48 at Domesday with the Foston assessment subsequently increasing from 12 to $12\frac{1}{2}$ and a corresponding increase from 36 to $37\frac{1}{2}$ for Bossall, maintaining the Domesday ratio, makes better sense and is used as the first choice in this paper.

The reason for the increase from 48 to 50 oxgangs may lie in the glebe of the vicar of Bossall. Domesday is silent about glebe. Did it exist? It is certain that the vicar of

⁷ East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service, Beverley, Langton MSS, DDHV39/7 etc.

⁸ *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, II, ed. William Page (London, 1912), p. 276; *Early Yorkshire Charters*, IX, ed. C. T. Clay (1952), p. 74.

⁹ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, IX, p. 174, and Public Record Office Calendars, *Feudal Aids*, VI, p. 244, for allocation between the three berewicks in the related manor of Scrayingham.

¹⁰ *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem*, II, 1–19 Edward I, No. 439; IX, 21–25 Edward III, No. 219; X, 26–34 Edward III, No. 46; XX, 1–5 Henry V, No. 614.

¹¹ PRO, CP25/1/265/50, no. 38; *Feet of Fines for the County of York 1246–72*, ed. J. Parker, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 82 (1932), p. 162.

Bossall had glebe in Flaxton as early as 1228; this is clear from Archbishop Gray's register which states that the vicar 'shall pay no tithe for the improvement belonging to his lands at Flaxton'.¹² Domesday records a church in the three berewicks of Scrayingham: namely Barneby, Bossall and Buttercrambe. In view of the Bossall connection of the seventh-century Bishop Bosa it seems safe to assume that the church was at Bossall; and there seems no reason to suppose that Flaxton was not already tied in some way to Bossall church. The inference from the above is that there was indeed glebe land in Flaxton at Domesday but, not being geldable, it was not recorded. The enclosure award of 1658 makes it clear that immediately prior to the award the vicar of Bossall had around 32/35 acres in the three fields. On the basis of a Hexham Priory oxgang in Flaxton (see below) being 15 acres, 32/35 acres is an acceptable equivalent to 2 oxgangs. Following the enclosure, half an oxgang of glebe of the vicar of Bossall was due to pay 2s. 6d. an oxgang to the rector of Foston. Presumably the remaining 1½ oxgangs of the vicar's glebe would have been, in theory, due to pay similarly to himself. This makes sense of the anomalous half oxgang, and accounts for the additional 2 oxgangs.

THE SOKELANDS

Within twenty years of the Domesday survey Count Stephen, successor to Count Alan, granted the Abbey of St Mary York 'for the soul of King William' a number of properties including the manor of Foston and also 12 oxgangs in Flaxton.¹³ These grants to St Mary's were confirmed by Henry II.¹⁴ However, it is appropriate to mention that Dugdale, in his printing of the confirmatory charter of Henry II, states that Count Stephen granted 11 and not 12 oxgangs in Flaxton to St Mary's, and there is some subsequent evidence (see below) which supports Dugdale.¹⁵

A further link is found in Archbishop Gray's register of 1229 which records that 'the abbot and convent of St Mary's York as patrons confirmed a grant for life made by Hugh rector of Fosseton to Hugh, clerk [the curate?], of the corn tithes of 12 oxgangs of land in Flaxton, paying one mark yearly'.¹⁶

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES 1536-45

Remarkably, at the dissolution no less than nine religious bodies held land in Flaxton township.¹⁷ The holdings of these nine bodies totalled 37½ oxgangs, compared to the probable 48 oxgangs recorded in the township at the time of Domesday. The unaccounted oxgangs would seem to have represented those held at Domesday by Hugh son of Baldric as part of his manor of Buttercrambe.

According to the survey made at the time of its dissolution St Mary's, York, held the manor of Foston with:

- (1) Nineteen holdings, none described as 'free rent', in Foston with a total of 64 oxgangs,
- (2) Four 'free rent' holdings in Flaxton with 7 (should have totalled 8?) oxgangs,
- (3) One further holding in Flaxton, not described as 'free rent', with 4 oxgangs.¹⁸

The number of oxgangs above correlates so closely with the Domesday figures of 64 for

¹² *Register of Archbishop Gray*, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 56 (1872), p. 20.

¹³ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, iv, ed. C. T. Clay (1935), p. 4.

¹⁴ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, i, ed. William Farrer (1914), p. 271.

¹⁵ Sir W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, iii (London, 1846), pp. 533, 548.

¹⁶ *Register of Archbishop Gray*, ed. Raine, p. 31.

¹⁷ St Mary's Abbey, York; St Andrew's Priory, York; Hexham Priory; Marton Priory; Kirkham Priory; Durham College, Oxford; Nunburnholme Priory; Chantry of Our Lady, Ouse Bridge End, York; Chapel of St Helen, Wilton.

¹⁸ PRO, SC6/HENVIII/4519, mm. 1, 10.

the manor of Foston and 12 for the soke in Flaxton, all subsequently granted to St Mary's, that it is difficult to conclude other than that the Flaxton holdings of St Mary's as at dissolution equate with the sokelands of Domesday, particularly as there is evidence at a later date that all 12 oxgangs in Flaxton may have been 'free-rented'.

The manor of Foston was also stated to include eleven holdings with a total of 42 oxgangs in the adjoining township of Thornton le Clay, which correlates reasonably closely in number with the 40 oxgangs of Domesday in that township which were subsequently granted to St Mary's; but not at all closely when considering 'free rent' status, in that all 40 Domesday oxgangs were sokelands but at dissolution only five holdings with 22 oxgangs were 'free-rented'. While this is not helpful, it does not really detract from the conclusion drawn above in relation to Flaxton.

The use of the term 'free rent' in the survey of St Mary's is misleading to the extent that the tenants of the holdings concerned paid a nominal rent, usually representing about one-tenth of the rent paid for other holdings of the same size.

GRANTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE DISSOLUTION

It is possible, through records at the Public Record Office and elsewhere, to follow the subsequent history of the manor of Foston, including the Flaxton holdings, through two head leases of 1546 and 1577 respectively to a conveyance of the manor in 1591 to a Thomas Bamburgh of Howsham, a nearby township.¹⁹ The conveyance specifically includes the Flaxton holding with 4 oxgangs (now divided into two holdings with 2 oxgangs each), but makes no mention whatsoever of the 'free rent' holdings. However later evidence (see below) indicates positively that these holdings must have passed to Bamburgh either then or at another time.

By the middle of the seventeenth century the manor of Foston had descended to Sir Thomas Norcliff of Langton in the East Riding. This is the same Sir Thomas Norcliff who was assessed in the enclosure award of 1658 on 4 of the 12½ oxgangs paying 2s. 6d. per oxgang to the rector of Foston.

In 1670 Sir Thomas Norcliff conveyed to trustees property described as '... all that his manor of Foston in Foston and in Flaxton on the Moore & Thornton ... and all that his moiety in the manor of Howsham ...' to raise £3000 for his daughters Antonina and Frances as marriage portions.²⁰ Sir Thomas died shortly thereafter and in 1672 the trustees conveyed property in Flaxton and elsewhere to a John Stephenson of Buttercrambe.²¹

CONVEYANCE OF 1672

Before progressing further, and to avoid confusion, a definition is needed. Throughout the conveyance, and indeed throughout this paper (unless otherwise specifically stated) the term 'crofts' is not used as in the phrase 'tofts and crofts' but refers to the enclosed strips (see Figs 1 and 2) beyond and to the north-east of the Back Lane. The local term for the areas between the farmsteads and the Back Lane has always been 'garths'.

The conveyance of 1672 conveyed two classes of property. One consisted of 'free rent' holdings, including a total of 8 oxgangs, paying precisely the same rent in total as paid by the 'free rent' holdings at the time of the dissolution. Confirmation that the 'free rent' holdings were conveyed to Thomas Bamburgh despite the conveyance of 1591 being silent on the matter. Confirmation also that the survey of St Mary's was apparently wrong

19. PRO, LR1/171, Liber E, F, G, fol. 44; C66/1161, m. 31; CP25/1/265/50 no. 38.

20. ERYAS, DDEL35/1 (reference on dorse).

21. ERYAS, DDEL35/1.

in giving a total of 7 oxgangs only. One of the holdings has an Edward Poole as tenant, while at the dissolution one of the tenants was a Charles Poole. One of the holdings at the dissolution was a cottage and garden paying a rent of 8*d.*; now there were two half-cottages each paying 4*d.* In addition the three holdings with oxgangs were occupied by the same three families as occupied 8 of the 12½ oxgangs mentioned in the enclosure award. Most of the holdings (though not all — perhaps a result of careless drafting) are described as being in the Foston part of the township. No doubt the 'free rent' oxgangs had in practice been replaced by enclosures but there is no mention of this, presumably because as far as the parties to the conveyance were concerned the relevant factor was the free rents arising out of the properties and not the properties themselves.

The second class of property comprised four tenanted farms and one tenanted bare-land holding, each occupied by named individuals and described parcel by parcel but without specific information on the whereabouts of the farmsteads or of the rents. Part of the land lay in a solid block in the newly enclosed Low Moor, and almost all the rest can be identified as lying towards the north and north-east of the township, again apparently in a single block. It is clear that the land lay partly in the Bossall portion of the township, as subsequently recorded, and partly in the Foston portion. It is also clear from the descriptions that at least three of the farms, and probably the fourth also, had their farmsteads in the village; the three farms each included a croft or crofts, in one case described as 'over the laine', that is to say over the present Back Lane. All the land was described as being in closes, confirmation that this part of the township at the very least had been enclosed by 1672.

The conveyance also mentions that all the property conveyed was free from encumbrances with the exception of a 'fee farm of 20*s* p.ann. payable to the King's Majestie'. It may be coincidental but at the time of the dissolution survey the rent of the holding with 4 oxgangs not described as 'free rent' was also 20*s*. This suggests that possibly this holding was indeed 'free-rented' and can also be equated with the 4-oxgang holding in hand to Sir Thomas Norcliffe in 1658 at the time of enclosure.

Where were the farmsteads of the 'free rent' holdings? There is documentary evidence for Flaxton, dating from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, which supports the theory that at the time of the Domesday survey an assessment of 2 oxgangs represented an agricultural holding. On this basis the 12 oxgangs of sokeland in Flaxton would have supported six farmsteads. Treating the two half-cottages as one holding, the conveyance of 1672 was concerned with four 'free rent' holdings with 8 oxgangs between them. In addition there was the 4-oxgang holding which Sir Thomas had held in 1658 and which appears also to have been included in the conveyance. This has been equated above with the 4-oxgang holding in the dissolution survey (which was jointly tenanted by a father and son) and which was included in the conveyance to Bamburgh of 1591 as two holdings each with 2 oxgangs. This gives the appropriate total and ratio of six 'free rent' or probable 'free rent' tenements with 12 oxgangs. All the logic suggests that the six farmsteads were on the Foston frontage (c. 200 metres) in the centre of the village. A careful reading of the 1672 conveyance coupled with the following through of the names of the occupiers of one of the probable 'free rent' holdings with 2 oxgangs, makes it a safe assumption that the two northern farmsteads on the Foston frontage were occupied by Edward Poole and Richard Cordex respectively. As mentioned earlier a Charles Poole occupied one of the 'free rent' holdings at the dissolution, and the holding occupied by Cordex, one of the four farms included in the conveyance, can be traced back to one of the former 'free rent' holdings. This demonstrates that the logic used above is almost certainly correct.

Where was the land which was allotted at enclosure in place of the 8 oxgangs of the

Pooles, Marshalls and Johnsons? The Johnsons were not a Flaxton family and have not so far been identified. The Pooles and Marshalls were another matter. Both names first appear in Flaxton at the time of the dissolution: Charles Poole as tenant of St Mary's and John Marshall as tenant of Marton Priory. These two families were among the most prominent in the township for the next two hundred years. Unfortunately each occupied land in both the Bossall and Foston parts of the township throughout virtually the entire period, which makes it difficult to pin their Foston holdings down to the ground. However the wording of the 1672 conveyance confirms that Edward Poole was occupying land in two Foston enclaves, and it is also known that by the 1720s the Marshalls occupied a substantial farm called Gennell House farm (so preserving the name of *Girrol Field* mentioned in the enclosure award) on the west side of the township, which included some 32 acres of Foston land within its boundaries. There is space elsewhere within the Foston enclaves for the Johnsons' holding.

Where was the land allotted to Sir Thomas Norcliff to replace his four Foston oxgangs of 1658? Richard Cordex, mentioned above, has been identified as the occupier of one of the two former 'free rent' holdings. As much of the land occupied by him can also be identified as lying in the Foston enclaves, 2 of the 4 oxgangs can be said to have been accounted for. The other 2 oxgangs remain unaccounted.

HEXHAM PRIORY SURVEY 1479

So far in this paper one document has been disregarded. This is the 1479 survey of the lands of Hexham Priory, commonly known as the Black Book, and it is time to look at a part of it closely.

The 6 oxgangs on which the archbishop was assessed at the time of Domesday subsequently formed part of the Prebend of Salton, which was annexed to Hexham Priory by Archbishop Thurston in the twelfth century²² and remained in the hands of the priory until its dissolution in 1537.

Three documents are known which relate to this Flaxton holding. The first is a document, understood to date from c. 1295, which refers to 'the prebendary having in Flaxton three tenements each with two oxgangs paying in total 66s. 8d'; no other information is given.²³ The second, also undated but said to be of the latter part of the fifteenth century, refers to two tenements with 6 oxgangs, of which one tenement with 2 oxgangs was occupied by a John Place and the other tenement with 4 oxgangs by a William Watson.²⁴ It would seem that two tenements had been amalgamated since the time of the earlier document. Place's tenement was described as on the east of the town at the south end, with Watson's (enlarged) tenement adjoining it to the north.

The third document is the 1479 survey of the priory's lands, the Black Book.²⁵ The information contained in the document was derived from returns provided to the priory over a period of at least two years before that date. It would seem to post-date the second document above. Now a Richard Place, not John, occupied *per cartam* a toft and one oxgang described as *libera firma*; there is no indication of the whereabouts of either the toft or oxgang. The other 5 oxgangs, described as '*de bond.*', were held by Richard Place, again, with two tofts and 2 oxgangs and a William Raynerson with two tofts and 3 oxgangs. These 5 oxgangs, specifically estimated in the survey at 15 acres of arable and meadow each, were in selions or strips in three open fields (the first unnamed, but known

²². *Memorials of Hexham*, II, ed. J. Raine, Surtees Society, 46 (1865), p. vii.

²³. *Memorials of Hexham*, II, p. 84; 'Extents of the Prebends of York', ed. T. A. M. Bishop, *Miscellanea*, IV, YAS Record Series, 94 (1936), p. 17.

²⁴. *Memorials of Hexham*, II, p. 155.

²⁵. *Memorials of Hexham*, II, pp. 80–81.

as the *Girrol Field* at the time of the enclosure award, the other two named as the *Broad Field* and the *Croft Field*) and in thirty-nine named furlongs or flats and in four named meadows. The strips varied in size from one rood (one quarter of an acre) to 6 acres and were described as 'lying everywhere between the lands of Richard Bernard and the lands of the nunnery of Burnholme'.

It is of note that Place's two tofts are described as near the south end of the town, next to the plot of Richard Bernard to the north. There is no mention of the whereabouts of Raynerson's two tofts, but the suspicion must be that, despite the description above, they lay between Place's and Bernard's. This is because the earlier description notes that Watson's adjoins Place's to the north and it is improbable that there was any change in the intervening few years. It also seems probable that the nuns' toft adjoined on the other side of Place's, to give the same relationship as in the flats. There is solid evidence of such a relationship elsewhere in the township. A charter of Laurence de Boutham, dated 1293 and concerned with a toft and croft (non-Flaxton sense) and 3 oxgangs, describes the toft and croft as lying 'between lands of the prior and convent of Marton and the lands of Robert de Dunstapel', with two of the oxgangs lying 'between lands of the said prior and lands of Agnes le Gra and the said Robert'. The third oxgang lay between lands of two entirely different parties and no doubt was a separate acquisition.²⁶

About half the names given to the flats in the 1479 survey can be reconciled with field names given in the 1843 tithe award (a few are still current). Most of those that can be identified lie in the large block of land to the north-east of the village, a few towards the township boundary on the north-west. The location of the other half is unknown, but if the ordering of the list in the survey was in any way logical (which it appears to be) the fields and their flats were, broadly, listed clockwise from north-west round to south, leaving a large block to the south-west, presumably common pasture and moorland, unrepresented.

THE VILLAGE SETTLEMENT AND ITS OPEN FIELDS

There is sound documentary evidence that Flaxton was a planned township. Laurence de Boutham's charter of 1293, quoted above, stating that his holding lay between the same neighbours in both the village settlement and in the open fields (an example of *solskifte* or sun-division) is extremely positive, even though the system had begun to break down with one of the neighbours in the settlement, Robert de Dunstapel, having been joined by Agnes le Gra in the fields. The prevalence elsewhere of a tenement being linked with 2 oxgangs as a unit of holding, even though again there are many signs of breakdown with oxgangs being sold and bought or transferred, is again good evidence. But when did the planning take place?

Again the Hexham Priory Black Book may be able to help. The thirty-nine flatt- or furlong-names in the 1479 survey include five names which are suggestive of assarting (*Stob-keldes* and *Hagge-brekes* in the field identified as the *Girrol Field*, and *Brakan-hill*, *North-brek* and *West-Brek* in the *Broad Field*). The area of the priory's strips in these five flats was $11\frac{1}{4}$ acres, representing an increase in the priory's field area as a result of the assarting (if indeed the flatt names are indicative of assarting) of 14 per cent. If this assarting took place after Domesday the effect on the Foston soke, assuming all holdings in the township had benefited from the assarting, would have been to increase its assessment from 12 oxgangs to approaching 14 oxgangs. This did not happen. Therefore it would seem that this substantial assarting took place prior to Domesday. The implication must be that

²⁶ York Minster Library, Cartulary of St Mary's Abbey, York, xvi.a.i fol. 170.

the open three-field system was in place by Domesday, implying in turn that the village settlement around which the system was built must also have been present.

Why the farmsteads pertaining to the soke should have been positioned in the middle of the village settlement remains unexplained.

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The author would not have achieved this paper without the help, much needed, of the librarians and staff of the York Minster Library, the Borthwick Institute and York City Reference Library in York and of the Archive Services of North Yorkshire and the East Riding in Northallerton and Beverley respectively. He also wishes to acknowledge the help given by Christopher Taylor with thoughts regarding the layout of the settlement, the relationship of one tenement to 2 oxgangs in the Domesday survey of Yorkshire, and the sequence of the strips in the fields following the sequence of tenements in the settlement. Finally he wishes to acknowledge the help of Dr Nick Barratt in translating and transcribing numerous documents at the Public Record Office. However the text and conclusions are his own, as are the errors.

THE FORTUNES OF THE TEMPEST FAMILY OF BRACEWELL AND BOWLING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

By R. W. Hoyle

The Tempest family of Bracewell in Craven and Bowling in Bradford was one of the most prominent gentry families of early-sixteenth-century Yorkshire. Sir Richard Tempest (d. 1537) was personally known to the king and used this intimacy to become one of the dominant figures in the West Riding in the two decades before his death. His two elder sons, successive heirs to their father, never achieved his standing and the younger of the pair, Sir John (d. 1565), dissipated the family's estates. In the third generation members of the family served as JPs but their pre-eminence amongst the Yorkshire gentry passed elsewhere. The history of the family illuminates a number of points of general interest, including the character of political power under Henry VIII, and the strategies by which a gentry family tried to avoid financial disaster when its head was wayward and heavily indebted. The Tempest family deserve a full account; but any attempt to replace the short essay published by Mrs E. B. Tempest in 1900 labours under the shared disadvantage of a lack of family papers.¹ The records upon which one might normally rely in this type of study — deeds, settlements, rentals and other estate materials and correspondence — are, it would appear, entirely lost, not even memorialised by Dodsworth or Towneley. Any account of the family has to be assembled from the records of government and the courts. Hence the history of the family remains monochrome, with an overemphasis on the family's scrapes with the law and money lenders: but equally this paper may be taken as illustrating how much can be learnt from even a selective reading of the central government sources.

I

The Tempests had been settled at Bracewell in Craven since the twelfth century, but it is perhaps convenient to pick up their story with Sir John Tempest (d. 1463–64) who heads the simplified pedigree at Figure 1.² Sir John's eldest son, Sir Richard, who concealed and perhaps betrayed Henry VI at Waddington Hall near Clitheroe in 1465, died

* As will appear, this is a problematic subject. The first problem is the spelling Bolling/Bowling. I follow the Ordnance Survey in using Bowling although the Tempests' house is normally called Bolling Hall. All manuscripts cited in this paper are, unless otherwise indicated, held in the Public Record Office.

¹ Mrs E. B. Tempest, 'The Tempest family at Bowling Hall', *Bradford Antiquary*, n.s. 1 (1900), pp. 491–511. Mrs Tempest's fullest account of all the branches of the Tempest family remains unpublished: 'Tempest Pedigrees collected and written between 1878 and 1922 by Eleanor Blanche Tempest, wife of Arthur Cecil Tempest of Broughton-in-Craven and Coleby co. Lincoln', British Library Add. MS 40,670. I have plundered this for references which have made my own work of collection from scattered sources much easier. The difficulties posed by the family are such that they do not even secure an index entry in J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry from the Reformation to the Civil War* (London, 1960). This paper touches on issues treated by others, notably R. B. Smith, *Land and Politics in the England of Henry VIII: the West Riding* (Oxford, 1970).

² For a full pedigree of the family, see T. D. Whitaker, *History and antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, 3rd edn, ed. A. W. Morant (Lecds, 1878), facing p. 96.

TABLE 1: The Tempest estate in the early sixteenth century
(valuations in parenthesis)

(i) *The Tempest family estate*

Manor of Bracewell and lands in Stock (£50)

Manor of Paythorne and tenements in Paythorne, Horton in Craven and *Pathenell* (£25)

Manor of Hebden and lands in Hebden, Conistone, Thorpe, Burnsall, Malham, Broughton and Kettlewell, Coniston Cold and Skipton (£25)

Burgages in Skipton (20s.)

Manor of Waddington and lands in Waddington, Easington and Skelshaw (£26)

(ii) *The Bowling family estate*

Manor of Bowling (£4)

Messuages in Little Bowling, Bradford and Horton (£13 6s. 8d.)

Manor of Thornton in Bradforddale (£5)

Messuages in Denholme, Allerton, Wilsden, Clayton and Oxenhope (£13 6s. 8d.)

Half manor of Hainworth and Lees (40s.)

Manor of Wadland (£5)

Sources: (i) IPM of Sir Richard Tempest, 1537, PRO, C142/59/11; (ii) IPM of Rosamund Tempest, 1553, C142/102/38.

the Craven and Bradforddale estates, and the Lincolnshire estates were brought back into the family by having Margaret Tempest marry her cousin Richard's eldest son, Thomas.⁶ These marriages gave the family significant holdings in Craven (the Tempest estate), to the west of Bradford and stretching northwards towards Keighley (the Bowling estate) and in Lincolnshire. The Yorkshire lands are itemised in Table 1. Given the lack of an estate archive, it is not possible to be certain about the rental value of the family's lands or their exact extent. Not all the estates were available to the family at the same time: for instance Sir Thomas Tempest (d. 1545) held estates in Lincolnshire in right of his wife before he inherited the Craven estates, but he was never the owner of the Bowling lands which remained the property of his mother, whom he predeceased.

II

Richard Tempest, the heir to his grandfather and uncles, was born c. 1480.⁷ By his uncle's agreement with Tristram Bowling, Tempest undertook to marry Rosamund, Tristram's daughter and heir. She, however, was not the last of the Bowling family; Tristram favoured his daughter and son-in-law over his own brothers and illegitimate son, thus offering a pattern which occurs again in the way in which Sir Richard himself played the West Riding marriage market.⁸ On the deaths of Bowling in 1502 and Sir Thomas Tempest in 1506, Richard Tempest became one of the greater West Riding gentry. He appears to have relocated the family's centre of gravity from Craven into the central West Riding, which he was able to do through the command he established over the Duchy of

⁶ Sir Richard bought her wardship in 1512. *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* (hereafter *LP*), I (i), no. 1494 (30).

⁷ For a shorter account of Tempest, see *The History of Parliament, The Commons, 1509–1558*, ed. S. T. Bindoff, 3 vols (London, 1982), III, pp. 430–31.

⁸ On this point, see Mrs Tempest, 'The Tempest Family', pp. 491–93. For instance, one Edward Bowling was bailiff of Bradford in 1532–33. *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings* (hereafter *YSCP*), ed. W. Brown *et al.*, 4 vols, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (hereafter *YASRS*), 41, 45, 51, 70 (1909–27), III, p. 60. He was resident in Dame Rosamund Tempest's household in 1539, E36/38, fol. 3^r.

Lancaster's West Riding estates. How he achieved this ascendancy needs to be explained in terms of his presence at court and personal acquaintance with Henry VIII. He may have owed his entry to the court to his cousin's widower, Darcy, who had also achieved prominence in Henry VII's court.⁹ Tempest was certainly at court by 1505 when he had the seniority of an esquire to Henry VII: he was sufficiently in favour with the old king to be granted an annuity of £33 6s. 8d.¹⁰ He remained an esquire to Henry VIII and his court service continued through to at least 1521 when he was one of the knights of the king's body.¹¹ He was not one of the young men around court — the minions — whom Henry VIII favoured with free access into his private lodgings, the privy chamber. The significance of these men, whose informal but intimate position was crystallised by calling them (from 1518) the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber after the French practice, has been extensively explored by Dr David Starkey. The Gentlemen came to displace the Knights of the Body as the circle around the king, gentrifying a role which had initially been menial. When, in 1519, the minions were expelled from court, Tempest was named as one of the four esquires whose duties included lying on the king's pallet, that is sleeping in the guardroom outside the king's own bedroom.¹²

Tempest was also a participant in the culture of chivalry which the king and his circle energetically espoused in the first years of the reign. In 1511 he took part in the second day's jousting arranged to celebrate the birth of the (short-lived) Henry Prince of Wales. His companions in this day's sport show how well connected Tempest was, for they included Thomas Howard, later Duke of Norfolk, Henry Stafford, Earl of Wiltshire, Sir Thomas Boleyn, the father of Anne, and Charles Brandon who was to marry the king's sister, the dowager Queen of France, and who in 1516 was created Duke of Suffolk.¹³ He also took part in the court revels and tournaments of March and May 1516. He saw service in France in the campaign of 1513 and was knighted at Tournai after the town fell to Henry on Christmas Day 1513.¹⁴ He was one of the gentlemen who attended when Henry VIII met with Charles V at the end of May 1520 and he then travelled with the King to meet Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold at the beginning of the following month. The evidence is unambiguous: throughout his twenties and thirties, Tempest must have divided his life between personal service to the king and his estates in Yorkshire. The positions he held — if not the very closest to the king — made him a familiar of Henry's. This contact may have diminished after 1521 for there are no further references to him as a household officer. In the 1522–23 campaigns he served in the Scottish borders and not in France, but remained sufficiently an insider to be one of the council who ran the unwelcome war with Scotland in 1532–33.¹⁵ This may indicate the

⁹ I hope to publish a new account of Darcy in the future.

¹⁰ *LP*, II (ii), no. 2736 (p. 874).

¹¹ He is noticed as an esquire to Henry VII in 1505 (DL42/38, fol. 38^v) and at the king's funeral in 1507, *LP*, I (i), no. 20 (p. 16); to Henry VIII in 1510 (DL42/29, fol. 71^v); 1513 *LP*, II (i), no. 1804 (23); (ii), 1836 (12). He is noticed as a knight in 1519 (DL42/22, fols 46^v–47^r) and 1521 (*LP*, III (ii), no. 1923).

¹² *Rutland Papers*, ed. William Jerdan, Camden Soc., 21 (1842), p. 101. This document dates from the moment in the summer of 1519 when the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber (the 'minions') were away from court, an episode capable of several different readings. See G. Walker, 'Faction in the Privy Chamber? The "Expulsion of the Minions", 1519', in his *Persuasive Fictions. Faction, Faith and Political Culture in the Reign of Henry VIII* (Aldershot, 1996).

¹³ *LP*, I (i), no. 698.

¹⁴ *LP*, I (ii), no. 2053 (2). It is sometimes said, on the evidence of the *Ballad of Flodden Field*, that he saw service there on 9 September, which implies he went from Scotland to France. This is not impossible, but if he was at Flodden, one wonders why he was not a 'Flodden knight'. That he was at Flodden is not impossible, but the ballad is a late source and likely to be in error.

¹⁵ *LP*, III (ii), nos. 2328, 2613, 3097, 3381, 3410, 3638. For the 1532–33 war, see 'Letters of the Cliffords, Lords Cliffords and earls of Cumberland, c. 1500–c. 1565', ed. R. W. Hoyle, *Camden Miscellany*, 31, Camden 4th series, 44 (1992), pp. 23–29.

cessation of his regular court connection, but he remained, in the king's eyes, a trustworthy figure. His last service to the king was to sit on the jury which convicted Henry Norris and Mark Smeaton and others of adultery with Anne Boleyn in the coup against her in 1536.¹⁶

It was certainly through this association with the king that Tempest was able to build up his pre-eminent position in the central West Riding and large parts of Lancashire. By the time of his fall, he had a virtual monopoly of the stewardships of the Duchy of Lancaster between Preston in the west and Leeds and Wakefield in the east. The first duty of a steward was to hold the courts for the manors. Whilst much of the daily routine of the steward's work could be assigned to a legally trained deputy, the stewardships doubtless involved him in contacts with the tenants and a great deal of minutiae. For instance, in 1522 Tempest ordered two tenants from Colne (Lancs.) to appear before him at Bowling with their evidence in a dispute over alleged trespasses; in May 1536 he arbitrated in a dispute between two tenants from Wycoller, again calling them before him at Bowling.¹⁷ Whilst this might give plenty of opportunities for the exercise of power, stewardships were primarily sought because the steward had the 'rule' over the estates, the command of the tenants at times of war and, by virtue of the office, the capacity to interfere in the lives of the tenants and exercise a degree of patronage over those he favoured. This might include retaining tenants by giving them badges. That was a practice which both Henry VII and Henry VIII attempted to stamp out although it certainly continued in some parts of the North into the 1540s. In about 1505 Tempest was said to 'have retained towards him the most part of the king's tenants within Bradford' as he converted the manor into a private fiefdom.¹⁸ Stewardships were also offices of profit, not only from the formal fees but from the opportunities for peculation which the office provided. The tendency was inevitably for gentry to seek the stewardships of royal manors contiguous to their own property, so annexing them to their estates, and ensuring that the steward's interest came to feature more prominently than the king's in the management of the royal lands. Hence stewardships were competed for, and those with regular contact with the king were best placed to secure grants. Courtiers could build up regional hegemonies based on their own estates and the royal (and monastic) stewardships annexed to them. One of the best documented instances of this tendency is the way in which Henry's Groom of the Stool (his close body servant), Sir William Compton, harvested royal stewardships in the southern Midlands around his house at Compton Verney.¹⁹ The operation of the patronage network in this way reflects the opportunities presented to those with access to the king. Conversely, the award of stewardships served the king in his need to reward intimates and to place districts in which he was an absentee landowner in the hands of servants he knew — and trusted. Compton illustrates this perfectly, being made steward of the estates of Furness Abbey in Lancashire in a manoeuvre in which the king substituted a man whom he trusted for the second Earl of Derby, whom he did not.²⁰ Stewardships were much more important as a source of

¹⁶. *A chronicle of England during the reigns of the Tudors from 1485 to 1559* by Charles Wriothesley, *Windsor Herald*, ed. W. D. Hamilton, 2 vols, Camden Soc. n.s. 11, 20 (1875–77), 1, p. 204, printing the *baga de secretis*.

¹⁷. *The Court Rolls of the Honor of Clitheroe*, ed. W. Farrer, 3 vols (Manchester, 1897–1913), II, p. 88; III, pp. 323–25.

¹⁸. DL3/6, T2g.

¹⁹. G. W. Bernard, 'The Rise of Sir William Compton, early Tudor courtier', *English Historical Rev.*, 96 (1981), pp. 754–77.

²⁰. R. W. Hoyle and H. R. T. Summerson, 'The Earl of Derby and the Deposition of the Abbot of Furness in 1514', *Northern History*, 30 (1994), pp. 186–92 (although I now wonder whether Compton may have been more of a compromise figure than was allowed there).

influence than the shrievalty — Sir Richard was sheriff in Yorkshire in 1516–17 — which was an onerous and temporary office.

The first office secured by Tempest was the stewardship of the manor of Bradford which, lying adjacent to Bowling, was a prize that he was bound to seek after it came vacant on the death of Sir John Savile in 1505. Whilst he had several grants of the stewardship in his lifetime on different terms, the family's grip on Bradford was lost on his death.²¹ In 1511 Tempest had the grant of the stewardship of the extensive honour of Blackburnshire in Lancashire and he is found holding the courts of the Honour of Clitheroe immediately after. This gave him control of lands running from Colne to Blackburn and over the watershed into Rossendale. It also made him steward of the manor of Slaiddburn in Yorkshire, which lay adjacent to his manor of Waddington.²² In 1514 Tempest leased the farm of the town of Wakefield and the bailiffship of the town which gave him a controlling influence there.²³ In 1519 he secured a grant in reversion of the Master Forestership of Bowland Forest and the keepership of Quernmoor Park (Lancashire, virtually at Lancaster). At some point — it is not clear when — he also became steward of the Duchy's manors of Rochdale (by 1527) and Barnoldswick.²⁴ Finally in 1521 he received letters patent of the offices of the steward of Wakefield manor, the constableness of Sandal Castle and a number of associated offices, all in reversion after the death of Sir Thomas Lovell (d. 1525).²⁵ The king's trust in Tempest — and his utility — may also be seen in the grant to Tempest of the receivership of the Lancashire lands of the third Earl of Derby during his minority (1521–30).²⁶

A further dimension of Tempest's local power was his monopoly of the marriage market. Tempest's marriage was exceptionally fecund producing eight boys and four daughters, three of the boys dying young. The eldest son, as we saw, married Margaret Tempest. The second son, John, married late in life a widow who was born the daughter of an Oxfordshire gentleman. The three younger sons all married heiresses so founding cadet branches of the Tempest family. Nicholas Tempest married Beatrice, the daughter and heiress of John Bradford of Heath,²⁷ Tristram the daughter of Alexander Methley²⁸ and Henry the daughter of Christopher Mirfield of Tong near Bradford. All established cadet lines of the Tempests on the failure of the direct male line of their predecessors in much the same way as the Tempests of Bowling were founded on the estates of the Bowling family. With at least the Mirfield marriage, there is the suspicion of shabby dealings which placed the interests of the Tempests above those of the Mirfields. The Mirfield family held the manor of Tong in Bradford (and lands at Holme nearby) and

²¹ Details of Duchy stewardships are primarily taken from the appendices to Sir Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, 2 vols (London, 1953, 1970), I, in this case p. 522, although these lists could be improved upon.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 501.

²³ *LP*, I (ii), no. 2964 (31).

²⁴ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 506, 532.

²⁵ *LP*, III, no. 1451 no. 26. Tempest may have been acting for Lovell rather earlier. In the muster of Lovell's retinue of men able to serve the king made towards the end of the reign, Tempest brought 142 men from Halifax and sixty from Wakefield, in effect as Lovell's deputy. HMC 24, *Rutland MSS*, IV, p. 560.

²⁶ B. Coward, *The Stanleys, Lords Stanley and Earls of Derby, 1385–1672*, Chetham Soc., 3rd series, 30 (1983), pp. 200–03. Tempest complained that he was deprived of the surveyorship by Wolsey. *LP*, VIII, no. 946.

²⁷ According to J. W. Walker, *Wakefield, its History and People*, 2 vols (Wakefield 1939), II, p. 622, Beatrice Bradford was co-heiress to her brother John, who died without issue, their father being another John Bradford who d. 1516. The Tempests' interest was sold to John Kaye although Walker gives no date. Nicholas Tempest died at Bracewell in 1570, below, p. 187, note 88.

²⁸ Mrs Tempest, in her unpublished account of Sir Richard Tempest, reports that Alexander Methley sold the wardship of his daughter to Tempest on 24 April 1517 with a covenant that she would marry one of Sir Richard's sons of Alexander and his wife's choice. BL Add. MS 40670, citing a deed, Kirkless MS 173, then at Kirkless Park, now deposited at West Yorkshire Archive Service, Calderdale.

the manor of Stothill in Cowling and lands in Cowling Head. In 1529, Christopher Mirfield, the son and heir of Peter Mirfield of Tong, Esq., laid a bill in Chancery complaining against Tempest. Christopher Mirfield (who was evidently a young man) had married Elizabeth, the daughter of Arthur Pilkington, Esq., of Chevet, and a settlement had been made settling the estates on the issue of Mirfield and Elizabeth, with Tempest, Sir Walter Calverley and others as trustees. The first child of the marriage was a daughter Ellen. According to the bill, Peter Mirfield had sold the marriage of Ellen, his granddaughter, to Tempest without Christopher Mirfield's knowledge or consent. Tempest maintained that Christopher Mirfield had in fact been a party to the agreement.²⁹ Ellen was married to Henry Tempest, one of Sir Richard's younger sons, and from this union there sprang the Tempest family of Tong who retained the Tong estates into the last century. But this was at the cost of disinheriting Christopher Mirfield's brother and male heir, one Richard Mirfield, who in the 1550s was described as a servant of the Bishop of Winchester when he was suing the Tempests in a vain attempt to secure possession of his family's lands, even though Christopher Mirfield had acknowledged the Tempest interest in Tong by a fine in 1550.³⁰ The outcome of the events of the 1520s was that the Mirfield name disappeared from Tong even though there was a male heir of that name.³¹

Tempest may have been worsted in the marriage market by William Copley. Another Chancery bill of the 1520s, this time submitted by Tempest rather than against him, complains that whilst he had negotiated a marriage settlement between his daughter Beatrice and Philip Copley, son and heir of William Copley, and paid 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) as a first instalment, Copley had accepted the money but subsequently contracted to marry Philip to a daughter of Brian Hastings. Tempest, obviously miffed, wanted his money back. It may have been this breach of promise which led to ill-feeling between Tempest and Hastings. After Wolsey was sent into internal exile in his see in 1529, he became aware of the enmity of Hastings and Tempest. He invited them both to Cawood, heard their grievances towards each other, reconciled and entertained them, and made them depart in amity.³²

III

The rise of Sir Richard Tempest was based on the exercise of royal largess: but the creation of a local monopoly of office also resulted in a dangerous concentration of unchecked power in the hands of a single individual. Tempest was guilty of misfeasance of this power: he seems to have been willing to use intimidation and violence in order to bolster his authority. Evidence that he was jealous of rivals comes from early in his life. In 1503, in a dispute with Raybron Bowling, the Duchy's bailiff of Bradford, over the collection of the tolls of Bradford, Tempest was quoted (in pleadings before the Duchy's own court) as saying that 'there shall no man have no[r] bear no [i.e. any] rule within the town and lordship of Bradford but only he and his servants'. Bowling accused

²⁹ The marriage settlement was dated 20 Mar. 1527: Sir Richard paid £200 for the marriage. W. Robertshaw, 'The manor of Tong', II, *Bradford Antiquary*, n.s. 8 (1962), p. 119.

³⁰ C1/1370, mm. 61-67; *Yorkshire Feet of Fines of the Tudor period*, 4 vols, YASRS, 2, 5, 7, 8, (1887-90), 1, p. 148.

³¹ It seems unlikely that the marriage was arranged whilst there was still the possibility of further offspring being born to the Mirfield-Pilkington marriage. The best suggestion would be that Elizabeth was dead when her daughter's marriage was sold to Tempest, the implication being that the Mirfield estate was entailed to the heirs general of the Mirfield-Pilkington marriage and not the heirs male of the Mirfield family.

³² C1/581, no. 30. *Visitation of Yorkshire made in 1584/5 by Robert Glover, Somerset Herald*, ed. J. Foster (London, 1875), p. 10 shows that the marriage took place. *Two Early Tudor Lives*, ed. R. S. Sylvester and D. P. Harding (New Haven and London, 1962), pp. 148-50 (printing Cavendish's memoir of Wolsey).

Tempest of intimidating the King's tenants so that they would not assist his officers. He had had his servants lie in wait to ambush and wound Bowling's deputy and had instructed his tenants to 'beat and strike down both the bailiff and his servants if any would arrest them'. When Bowling was called to give evidence in Leeds, he departed abruptly, telling the commissioners that he had heard that Tempest was coming with his 'power'.³³ At an unknown date, but early in his adult life, his household servants were accused by Henry Pudsey of Bolton by Bowland, the king's farmer of Barnoldswick and keeper of the woods there, of murdering one Robert Sotheron, the underkeeper. As Barnoldswick lay adjacent to Bracewell, this was doubtless an additional duchy manor which Tempest coveted (and finally came to dominate).³⁴

The first evidence we have which suggests an awareness that all was not well with Sir Richard's government of the West Riding comes from indictments made at York and Wakefield in the summer of 1524, which appear to be a part of a concerted attempt to investigate Tempest's activities.³⁵ First, there are ten indictments made at York on 2 August 1524, mostly of Gilbert Hanson and Tempest together (but sometimes of others with Tempest) for seizing cloth belonging to a variety of men in 1519–20. (Hanson was Tempest's deputy bailiff of Halifax and, as we shall see later, was murdered in an affray in about 1533.) Exactly what was happening here is unknown: but the clerk marked all the indictments with the simple note 'extortion'. Secondly, there are four indictments made at Wakefield before four JPs of the West Riding on 4 September. The first was that a servant of Tempest's called William Michell had allowed a man called Robert Turner of Halifax to escape from prison. It was not suggested that Tempest had released him: the clerk wrote 'negligence' on the indictment. The second charged Tempest, one Edward Bowling of Chellow and Robert Calverley of Rycroft gent, with others numbering sixty, of forcibly expelling and disseising Costain Bowling from his manor of Priestthorpe in Wadlands in Calverley, and from other lands in Farsley and Pudsey. The third indictment recorded that Roger Tempest of Bowling Hall gent. had attacked one Thomas Langley gent. at Brighouse on 12 April 1518 and had given him a wound in the leg of which he died. The fourth indictment accused Thomas Clitheroe yeo. and Robert Mirfield, both of Bowling Hall, and four others of Bradford, of attacking one John Warde at Guiseley on 21 October 1522, and giving him a wound of which he died on 25 October. Furthermore, the six men had then been sheltered by Thomas Tempest (Sir Richard's son). Every indictment was found by the jury to be a 'true bill' (*vera billa*) and called into King's Bench for prosecution there, but for whatever reason, Tempest seems to have evaded prosecution in 1524, although some of the same offences, notably the murder of Ward, contributed to his nemesis in 1536–37. His reputation for feuding and disorder remained, confirmed not only by Wolsey's reconciliation of Tempest and Hastings, but also by a letter of 1533 or 1534 which suggested that the government of Yorkshire would be improved if Tempest and others (including Sir William Gascoigne and Sir Henry Savile) were removed from the commission of the peace.³⁶

Tempest died — a prisoner in the Fleet — before the full scale of his disgrace had become known; but from the surviving papers, it is certain that in the summer of 1536

³³. DL3/6, T2.

³⁴. DL1/17, B15. Tempest is called esquire, placing the bill before 1513. He came to have extensive leasehold interests in the manor and replaced Pudsey as steward.

³⁵. KB9/495, mm. 26–39. They will be printed in a forthcoming calendar of King's Bench indictments for Northern England by the Surtees Society.

³⁶. LP, VII, no. 1669. A reputation for the self-interested exploitation of their offices may explain why he and Gascoigne were removed from the commission in 1525 and restored in 1530 and 1532 respectively. Smith, *Land and Politics*, pp. 154–55.

matters were leading towards a prosecution in Star Chamber which might well have resulted in his being stripped of his offices in Yorkshire and Lancashire and fined.³⁷ Two suits in Star Chamber served to draw him to the notice of the Council. The first was lodged by Isabel Jepson or Jebson of Wakefield alleging that Tempest had procured her husband's murder in Wakefield at Easter 1536 after he had returned from prosecuting a suit against Tempest before the Council. Exactly what the issue was between Jepson and the Tempests cannot be discovered, but it may have concerned Isabel Jepson's inheritance. Tempest apparently agreed to aid her if she would poison her husband.³⁸ After John Jepson had been at London in Easter Term 1536 bringing a case against Sir Richard and Sir Thomas Tempest 'by whom the said John Jepson had sustained great hurt and losses to his utter undoing', he heard rumours that he was to be murdered by one Robert Phellypp, a servant of Sir Thomas's. Knowing that the Tempests had procured the murder of other opponents, he decided to flee Wakefield, but whilst returning home on Ash Wednesday from Wakefield market, 'having in his hand a little bread made of oats called "hever bred" and in the other a little fish which he a little afore had bought for the sustenance of himself, his wife and his poor children' he was clubbed down by Phellypp and killed.

Tempest told the court how he had had Phellypp arrested and imprisoned at York until he had been called to London at Tempest's request to be examined by the Council. He was now in the Fleet. Tempest denied that he had procured Jepson's murder, but his widow alleged that the Tempests had allowed Phellypp to flee into sanctuary when they could have arrested him; that they had had Phellypp indicted at a coroner's inquest (which had, however, found that Jepson's death was accidental) and that they had an arrangement to restore Phellypp to sanctuary.³⁹ The facts seem relatively well established: the Tempests had a grudge against Jepson, and he was murdered by a man who wore a coat in the colour of Sir Thomas Tempest's servants.⁴⁰ To murder an opponent in a suit before the Council was surely the grossest possible contempt of the Council's jurisdiction: the mere allegation was one which the Council was bound to investigate. How the Tempests thought that they could evade justice is puzzling.

At the time of Jepson's murder, a major investigation into Tempest's government of the West Riding was already underway, prompted by a bill laid before the Council by Sir Henry Savile. Savile was a younger man, born *c.* 1498. He may have been concerned to recover the status and local pre-eminence which his family had lost to Sir Richard following the death of his father, Sir John Savile, in 1505 when Henry was aged only six. Sir John had been steward of both Bradford and Wakefield and Constable of Sandal Castle under Henry VII; Tempest followed Savile as steward of Bradford and later secured the stewardship of Wakefield. More specifically, it was believed within the Tempest camp that Savile had broken into a chest belonging to Sir Thomas Tempest at the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 and had stolen both money and jewellery, some of which had, it was claimed, later been seen worn by Savile's mistress. In 1523 the Earl of Surrey (later the third Duke of Norfolk) reported that he had tried to reconcile the

³⁷ Most of the material drawn on in the following section is published in *YSCP*. The early Star Chamber archive is badly disarranged and the editors of these volumes did not help their readers to comprehend what was happening by printing the documents in the numerical sequence in which they have come to rest in the PRO rather than ease by ease. I have tried to bring a degree of order to the northern cases in *A handlist of Star Chamber pleadings for northern England to 1558* (forthcoming).

³⁸ *YSCP*, III, p. 145. For what follows, *ibid.*, pp. 53–56. A Brian Jepson was assessed on £20 goods in 1523, making him one of the wealthier inhabitants of Wakefield. Walker, *Wakefield, its history and people*, I, p. 144.

³⁹ Isabel Jepson may have been in error on one point: the coroner's inquest found murder, KB9/975, m. 85.

⁴⁰ *YSCP*, III, p. 145.

pair.⁴¹ They were also engaged in a contest over the jurisdiction of the steward of Wakefield over Savile's manors of Barkisland, Stainland and Ovenden. The inhabitants of these townships, perhaps inspired by Tempest, moved a bill complaining about Savile whilst Sir Thomas More was chancellor (1529–32). In 1534 Tempest reported to Cromwell that Savile was harassing the king's tenants of Holmfirth and Wakefield.⁴² The antagonisms between the two men ran deep.

At some point in the winter of 1535–36, Savile laid a bill against Tempest before the Council.⁴³ It made five broad allegations: first, that Tempest, as steward of the manor of Wakefield, had made copyhold grants of waste land in which the area granted was much larger than that recorded in the court rolls, but that having taken the fine appropriate to the larger area, he pocketed the difference. Second, that he had used the stewardship to extort sums of money from the king's tenants. Thirdly, that he has falsely claimed coat and conduct money in the Anglo-Scottish war of 1532–33 by claiming for a larger number of men than he had actually recruited and then having other men impersonate his troops at musters. Fourthly, that he had procured the murders of his enemies in the manor of Wakefield, some of which had been committed in his presence; that no one dare interfere because of his power, and that he had allowed murderers to take sanctuary without punishment. Fifthly, that within the manor, he prevented justice from taking place by packing juries with his supporters. Tempest's answer was a blanket denial of wrong-doing.⁴⁴ This did not satisfy the Council which initiated an enquiry, and on 31 May 1536 commissioners led by Francis Lord Talbot (later fourth Earl of Shrewsbury) met at Halifax to take depositions as to the truth of Savile's allegations.⁴⁵

The first matter on which they gathered evidence was on the granting of copies by Tempest. Some deponents admitted they had 'overmeasure', but little evidence of wrong-doing by Tempest was discovered, except where one Richard Longbotham of Warley admitted giving Tempest 26s. 8d. in addition to the king's fine.⁴⁶ On the claim that Tempest had extorted money from the tenants of Wakefield, no evidence was apparently gathered except for a claim that Tempest had taken a bribe of £40 on a dispute over lands between Edmund Dyson and Adam Whitacres.⁴⁷ The charge that Tempest had committed frauds in finding men for military service was partly substantiated. Some of Savile's tenants in Ovenden appeared to say that the inhabitants of Ovenden had given £5 to Tempest's bailiff of Bradford to evade the obligation to send men to the borders. Similar payments had been made by the tenants of Midgley and Holmfirth. Another Savile tenant admitted giving Tempest 40s. to discharge his brother from serving in Scotland, whilst a priest from Elland admitted impersonating a man in a muster held near Berwick.

When they came to Tempest's murders, the commissioners gathered evidence relating to seven deaths. In some instances they discovered too little for us to come to any judgement as to whether the Tempests were responsible for the death of the deceased. This was the case with one John Prince, where it was reported that one John Ratcliffe had slain him and been acquitted, but no more is recorded. The death of Nicholas Wyndebank, who fled from two of Tempest's officers who were engaged in delivering a

⁴¹ *LP*, III (ii), no. 3240.

⁴² *LP*, VII, nos. 824, 1373.

⁴³ *YSCP*, II, pp. 46–48.

⁴⁴ *YSCP*, III, pp. 28–30. Another deposition has an individual called Richard Bryg admitting paying Tempest for 'his goodwill and favour' in a dispute over a mill at Wakefield. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 113–14.

⁴⁵ Interrogatories are printed at *YSCP*, II, pp. 63–67; depositions, III, pp. 56–68.

⁴⁶ *YSCP*, III, p. 57.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

writ, sounds more like an accident than a premeditated murder. The killing of one Christopher Lewis by Thomas Killingbeck in March 1522 appears to have resulted from a quarrel amongst equals rather than Tempest hiring an assassin. Killingbeck was a Wakefield butcher who apparently wore the Tempest badge. He had an altercation with Lewis and the two men were separated by one John Smith. Later, Killingbeck encountered Lewis in the street and hit him with a mustard pot, killing him with the blow. Killingbeck then fled into sanctuary, but when he returned to Wakefield he claimed to have the king's pardon. Thomas Grice, the Wakefield lawyer, testified that Tempest disbelieved him and had him arrested and imprisoned at York.

The commissioners discovered some additional details of the murder of Thomas Langley in 1518. It took place at the sheriff's tourn at Brighthouse during Sir Richard's shrieval year. According to one witness, Sir Richard was at dinner when Roger Tempest slew Langley. John Frobisher, one of the coroners in the West Riding, reported that Roger Tempest had been indicted of the murder: according to Grice, Sir Richard tried to capture him, and Roger had agreed to compensate Langley's widow for her husband's death. Nothing here leads us to an understanding of why Sir Richard should have wanted Langley dead. In the case of another murder, of Gilbert Brockbank a priest, we have only scanty details. Sir Richard and Brockbank had fallen out before the murder, and one of Sir Richard's servants, one Randall or Randolph Newall, was present at the murder, but we know no more.⁴⁸

Natural justice forces us to acquit Tempest of these murders, if only for lack of evidence. But then there is Jepson, already discussed, and John Ward where the 1536 depositions flesh out the indictments of fourteen years earlier. They also offer a clue to Ward's identity: he was an estate officer of the Prioress of Esholt, and his mistake had been to stop Sir Thomas Tempest hunting in Esholt Park and to take from Tempest a deer he had killed. Tempest clearly harboured a desire for revenge. A message was sent to Ward that he was to expect Peter Mirfield for supper and lodging. When a body of men on horseback arrived, Ward came out expecting to greet Mirfield, but he was seized, assaulted and wounded. After he was carried back into his house, arrows were shot through the windows. One deponent says that there were ten men in the gang which attacked Ward; another names Sir Thomas as being amongst them.

It would be charitable to suppose that Tempest was only guilty of maintaining and probably protecting unruly servants: but both Ward and Jepson were killed with cold calculation. In both cases the trail leads back to Sir Thomas rather than his father. And yet it is implausible to suppose that Sir Richard was unaware of his son's *modus operandi* and it is reasonable to charge Sir Richard with a willingness to murder men who crossed him. This did not create paralysis. John Frobisher, the coroner, had convened inquests on the bodies of four of the men murdered by the Tempests' servants (although he reported that the jury empanelled to view the body of John Prince had refused to bring in a verdict). Savile's claim that justice could not be done because Tempest had his supporters on every jury was in part confirmed by the witnesses examined by the commission. A tenant of Thomas Wortley's said that 'when the said deponent had been there, the said Sir Richard hath had three or four of his servants upon every inquest, but for what purpose he knoweth not, but as he supposeth to favour his friend'. A servant of Savile's told the commission that 'diverse men in the country where Sir Richard Tempest

⁴⁸. Brockbank is not known to J. S. Purvis, 'Tudor Crockford' (MS held by the Borthwick Institute, York) which does though notice a John Brockbank, chantrist at Elland in 1531.

dwelleth had been indicted, but that the said Sir Richard had his servants upon the inquest, which saved them'.⁴⁹

Even though the commissioners were well supplied with witnesses from within the Savile circle, the evidence they found was less compelling in support of Savile's claims than might be supposed: but it also demonstrated how the Tempests had exercised a partial and self-serving rule within the central West Riding, with occasional recourse to the murder of their opponents and the packing of juries to protect their servants and friends.⁵⁰ Savile's allegations also formed the basis of an interrogatory drawn to be put to Tempest himself, but if this was ever administered, we do not have his answers. It would be fascinating to know though how he might have answered — or evaded — some of the questions. The point is this: during the late spring and summer of 1536, Tempest was in deep trouble with an investigation unpicking the seamy side of his administration. The very fact that the investigation was taking place perhaps indicates that he was without friends at Westminster who could — or were willing — to save him.

Tempest counter-attacked with his own bill before the Council in Star Chamber drawing attention to a whole range of misdemeanours of Savile's.⁵¹ Whilst Tempest's account was every bit as self-serving as Savile's, it makes the point that Savile was not some moral crusader but Tempest's alter ego, employing equally unpalatable tactics to secure local dominance. Seven allegations were laid against Savile. He had oppressed the tenants of Barkisland, Stainland and Ovenden within the lordship of Wakefield, where the tenants held their land directly of the king, and compelled them to acknowledge themselves to be his tenants, and to pay him rents which were of right the king's. Secondly, he had harassed the inhabitants of these townships and the king's township of Holmfirth with law suits. He had also driven the king's moor of Holmfirth (to lay claim to it). Thirdly, after Tempest had sent a warrant for the arrest of Nicholas Ellison, a murderer, Savile had had him rescued and lodged at his expense with one Thomas Gaunt at Darton, from where Ellison committed a rash of robberies. Savile's servant, Thomas Beaumont, compounded with Ellison's victims to stop them suing Ellison. Fourthly, he had protected one Thomas Thelwell, a coiner. Fifthly, about three years previously, a party of Savile's servants had murdered Gilbert Hanson, Tempest's deputy bailiff of Halifax. Savile's servants had given financial compensation to Hanson's family, but Savile maintained the murderers. Sixthly, the theft of Sir Thomas's jewels was raked over, and finally an allegation was laid that Sir Henry had hunted in the king's New Park at Wakefield. At some point allegations also arose that in the early 1520s Savile's servants had killed a servant of the Earl of Kildare's in London, and that another man had been killed in Savile's presence by one of his servants whilst he and his party were on what we might politely term a pub crawl in the Southwark stews.⁵²

Savile's response to these allegations stated his claim to be lord of Barkisland, Stainland and Ovenden, but beyond that he denied the allegations made against him although they were restated by Tempest in his replication.⁵³ Nevertheless, the Council set about gathering information about Savile's conduct. Savile himself was examined, but pleaded ignorance of most of the allegations put to him: but the examinations made in Yorkshire do indicate the essential truth of Tempest's claims. Tempest found witnesses who offered evidence — albeit mostly hearsay — that Savile had broken into Tempest's chest and

⁴⁹. *YSCP*, III, pp. 65, 66.

⁵⁰. For the way in which juries in Lancashire could be divided between the clients of individual magnates (including Tempest), see *LP*, III (ii), no. 1923 (2).

⁵¹. *YSCP*, III, pp. 104–06.

⁵². *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵³. *YSCP*, I, pp. 189–92.

that the necklace it contained had been seen worn by one Margery Barston, 'which Margery Sir Henry Savile kept', and for the circumstances of the murder of the man in Southwark. Good evidence was procured showing that Savile's servants had resisted the arrest of Nicholas Ellison and that Savile had intervened with the mayor and recorder of Chester to secure the acquittal of Thelwell the coiner. And evidence was presented to show that Savile's servants had killed Gilbert Hanson. Hanson's brother claimed that the deceased had been called into the house of one Spalden or Palden in Halifax and ambushed. One witness who heard the affray found the street doors to be barred and on entering the house through the back found Hanson and one Riding lying wounded. Both men subsequently died of their wounds. Money had been paid to Hanson's family but not by Savile's procurement, and even Hanson was unwilling to say that his brother had been murdered on Savile's instructions, but his assailants were Savile's servants and tenants. The keeper of the New Park at Wakefield deposed that Savile had been in the habit of night hunting for nine or ten years.⁵⁴ Evidence was also gathered from Ellison's hosts at Darton which showed that he was indeed maintained by Sir Henry and was guilty, amongst other crimes, of highway robbery. He was a member of a criminal gang of six who had sworn 'to be true to another that all things that whatsoever it was that they steal or get shall be equally divided amongst [them], every man to have his portion'.⁵⁵

Further evidence that Sir Henry's methods were as unattractive as Tempest's comes from a Tempest-inspired suit launched by James Stansfield and others in the name of the inhabitants of Stainland, Ovenden and other townships (some of whom came into court in July 1536 to disavow the suit made in their name).⁵⁶ This bill focused on two matters. The first was Savile's attempts to secure the lordship of these manors by claiming that rents paid to the king were actually his. The rights and wrongs of this are obscure but it might be noticed that Tempest was trying to maintain the Duchy of Lancaster's jurisdiction and not his own. The other matter was that Savile had encroached on the wastes of these manors, making leases of their lands to his friends and harassing the tenants with litigation to ensure their compliance. Both issues had been the subject of an appeal to Henry VII, perhaps in 1492, and a suit to the Council in 1529–32.⁵⁷

Savile produced witnesses to demonstrate his right to the contested manors.⁵⁸ Other witnesses deposed concerning the murder of Robert Mokeston of Thurlstone. The background, as recounted by Savile's witnesses, was that the tenants of Holmfirth, having enclosed their moor, were now grazing their cattle on the moors of Thurlstone. The Thurlstone commoners, anxious to stop this, instituted a rota that one of their number should drive the Holmfirth men's cattle off the moor each day. When it came to Mokeson's turn, he was set upon by a party of men from Holmfirth, beaten up, half-drowned in a stream and then taken to Holmfirth, Wakefield and finally Sandal Castle where he died. When a coroner's jury met to view the body, Tempest tried to keep men from Thurlstone off the jury, and those who were finally called to sit were not party to the final verdict. No one in these depositions pointed the finger at Tempest, except to report that his servants had tried to impede the inquest.⁵⁹

The picture drawn of Tempest's rule is therefore a deeply unpleasant one, of the abuse

⁵⁴. *YSCP*, III, pp. 32–37.

⁵⁵. *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39.

⁵⁶. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 118–20.

⁵⁷. *Ibid.*, III, pp. 118–20. *YSCP*, III, pp. 138–40 recites a decree said to have been made by Henry VII when at Calais. 1492 may be indicated. S. B. Chrimes, *Henry VII* (London, 1972), pp. 281–82.

⁵⁸. *YSCP*, II, pp. 75–80.

⁵⁹. Savile was reported to have driven animals off Holmfirth Moor — the king's ground — in 1534. *LP*, VII, no. 813.

of local power and authority with a ready resort, if necessary, to murder to intimidate and protect his position. Savile was no better. His treatment of William Partriche, the Earl of Shrewsbury's keeper of Wortley Park, in which Savile finally sent a detachment of his servants with murderous intent to Wortley, where they wounded Partriche, bears considerable similarities to the end of John Ward.⁶⁰ Nicholas Ellison was prone to tell the people with whom he lodged in Darton that he was there 'to lie in wait for Thomas Savile of Clifton, for to murder him by desire of his master, Henry Savile esq. and Nicholas Savile'.⁶¹ And it was Savile (Tempest told Cromwell) who allowed one of his tenants to die in Sandal Castle rather than allow them to be bailed.⁶² In the Pilgrimage of Grace Savile threatened to hang men who had contributed money to the aid of the Pilgrims. Enclosure and the struggle to control territory which this involved formed a prime part of the disputes between Savile and Tempest as steward of the manor of Wakefield: but it was Savile who was alleged to have imprisoned one John Grime of Holmfirth for one and a half days until he agreed to open up enclosures he had made.⁶³

The Council's enquiries were overtaken by the Pilgrimage of Grace in the autumn of 1536. Sir Richard Tempest's performance in the Pilgrimage was pretty lacklustre: like so many others, he was overwhelmed by the ferocity of the commons and their refusal to follow their landlords. In the early stages Sir Thomas urged him to go to Wakefield to try and rally the tenants, but he seems to have exercised little influence over events. By contrast Sir Richard's younger brother Nicholas, resident at Bashall near Clitheroe, surrendered himself to the Craven commons on 21 October after they had stolen his goods and seized his son as a hostage against him. Subsequently he led the commons as one of their captains along the Ribble valley as far as Whalley Abbey. His downfall was offering succour to the monks of Sawley Abbey after they reoccupied their house during the winter of 1536–37. He was arrested, tried and executed at Tyburn on 25 May 1537.⁶⁴

Sir Richard kept himself out of the hands of the rebels (not being amongst those taken at Pontefract), and maintained a low profile. At the beginning of the New Year he wrote to Cromwell to excuse his lack of activity.⁶⁵ The decision was made to strip him of the Constablership of Sandal Castle during December 1536 and assign it to Savile; and it seems Tempest was called to London to face a revival of the charges against him by Savile.⁶⁶ Hence he was imprisoned in the Fleet (the prison used by the Council) rather than the Tower (where those suspected of treason were lodged and interrogated), and it was in the Fleet that he died in August 1537, his petition to be bailed having been refused. His fate was probably inevitable by June when it was rumoured that Tempest had lost the king's favour.⁶⁷ After this the Council's investigations seem to have been allowed to lapse. Savile, who, like Tempest, had kept himself out of the hands of the commons in October 1536 but who, unlike Tempest, had been vocal in denouncing them, was appointed steward of Pontefract after Darcy's execution, but he did not secure the stewardship of Bradford which was granted to Sir Arthur Darcy in 1542: one wonders whether it was deliberately denied him.⁶⁸ The stewardship of the manor of Wakefield had been

^{60.} *YSCP*, I, pp. 178–81.

^{61.} *YSCP*, III, pp. 38–39.

^{62.} *LP*, VII, no. 813.

^{63.} STAC2/22/147, not printed in *YSCP*.

^{64.} Mrs A. C. Tempest (i.e. Mrs E. B. Tempest), 'Nicholas Tempest: a sufferer in the Pilgrimage of Grace', *YAJ*, 11 (1891), prints copious extracts from his deposition. The pedigree in Whitaker's *Craven* confuses this Nicholas with Sir Richard's son Nicholas (d. 1570).

^{65.} *LP*, XI, nos. 702, 733, *Addenda*, no. 1183.

^{66.} *LP*, XI, no. 1410 (3); XII (i), no. 1178.

^{67.} *LP*, XII (ii), nos. 14, 179, 576. His heart was conveyed to Yorkshire to be buried at Bradford.

^{68.} Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, pp. 515, 522.

granted in reversion to the Earl of Rutland in 1533: the manor seems to have been administered by deputy stewards in the years following Tempest's death. It finally came to rest again with Sir John Tempest after Rutland's death.⁶⁹

It was perhaps in anticipation of troubles ahead that Sir Richard made his will on 6 January 1537.⁷⁰ His testamentary discretion was limited. So long as his wife lived, Bowling belonged to her; the Tempest estates in Craven were entailed. All he had to play with was the land he had purchased and the leases which he held of the Duchy of Lancaster. Whilst his eldest son, Sir Thomas, was long married and was an independent landowner on his wife's estates, his second son was not, and so particular provision had to be made for John Tempest. Sir Thomas was bequeathed the contents of the house at Bracewell and Sir Richard's lease of the tithes of Kirkby Malhamdale held of the Abbey of West Dereham in Norfolk. John Tempest was then bequeathed the lands bought by Sir Richard of Nicholas Savile, and all the lands he had purchased in Wakefield or the lordship of Wakefield, the Duchy lease of Bradford and the lease of the parsonage of Bradford. He also had Duchy leases of lands in Barnoldswick and of the tithes of Waddington from Cockersand Abbey in Lancashire.

Star Chamber cases always need to be read with caution: so much of what they contain cannot be verified from elsewhere. The narratives they offer are often partial and contrived to inflict the maximum damage on the opponents of those who laid bills. None the less Tempest, having acquired an extraordinary command of the Duchy of Lancaster's offices in the central West Riding and Lancashire, seems to have ruled through intimidation and occasional acts of violence for more than two decades. As Jepson's widow told the Council in Star Chamber, her husband decided to flee Wakefield 'considering the great jeopardy and danger that ensued unto them that the said Sir Richard Tempest, or the said Thomas his son, bore malice, grudge and displeasure unto, and how they had caused divers and sundry persons unto whom they bore grudge and displeasure to be slain and murdered'.⁷¹ The character of his rule was plainly known about by 1524, but not acted upon, and it took an equally ruthless individual to force the Council to pay heed to what was general knowledge within the West Riding. It is not difficult to find instances of other contemporaries who used violence to advance their local ambitions. Sir William Gascoigne of Gawthorpe would be one instance, the second Earl of Cumberland another.⁷² What makes Tempest unusual (if not unique) is his willingness — as we see in the fates of John Ward and John Jepson — to countenance assassination. In turn, this raises the question of how Tempest evaded discovery, or at least prosecution, for so long. The answer in part is that no one brought a case against him in Star Chamber. Plainly he intimidated individuals. John Jepson, whyevery he launched a suit against Tempest, was both brave and foolhardy, but his murder, whilst he was a litigant before the Council, was a challenge which could not be overlooked. Likewise, Savile took the opportunity to destroy a rival through a suit before the Council, but what is significant is that the Council chose not to bury Savile's suit, but to investigate his claims. All this hints at a changing constellation of circumstances. Perhaps no longer in regular contact with the king, Tempest's reputation had waned by the mid-1530s leaving him vulnerable. When it was reported in the summer of 1537 that Tempest had lost the king's favour

⁶⁹. *The Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield from 1537 to 1539*, ed. Anne Weikel, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Wakefield Court Rolls Series, 9 (1993), pp. xv and *passim*; Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, 1, p. 523.

⁷⁰. Borthwick Institute York, Prob. Reg. 9A, fol. 296^{r-v}, printed in *Testamenta Eboracensia*, vi, ed. J. W. Clay, Surtees Soc., 106 (1902), pp. 60–62.

⁷¹. *YSCP*, III, p. 54.

⁷². Smith, *Land and Politics*, pp. 144–51 and the comments in R. W. Hoyle, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the politics of the 1530s* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 39–40.

(Henry perhaps being disappointed by his performance during the Pilgrimage), his end was sealed, except that it came from disease rather than as a fine and perhaps imprisonment, certainly deprivation of offices, by Star Chamber.

IV

As we noticed earlier, Sir Thomas Tempest, Sir Richard's eldest son, was already a landowner before his father's death by virtue of the estates in Lincolnshire which descended from his great uncle to his wife. This explains why he was a member of the commission of the peace for Holland from 1528 and a commissioner of sewers in Lincolnshire in 1531. Tempest remained a member of the commission of the peace for Lincolnshire after his father's death, but was added to the West Riding commission from 1538 onwards. Having been knighted at Jedburgh in Scotland in 1523 by the Duke of Norfolk,⁷³ he saw service on the borders in 1542 and served as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1542–43; but generally he seems to have made little impression on county society and died childless and intestate in 1545.⁷⁴

The estates thus passed to his brother, John Tempest, knighted after the battle of Kelso in September 1545. The first point of interest about Tempest is his marriage to a woman from well outside the circle of Yorkshire gentry from amongst whom the children of Sir Richard Tempest normally drew their spouses. She was Anne, daughter of William Lenthall of Henley on Thames, who married firstly Sir Thomas Tempest, the Durham lawyer and member of the Council of the North from 1525 until his death in 1544. Secondly she married George Smith of Esshe and Nunstainton who died in 1547. Her marriage to John Tempest had taken place by 1550, but she was dead by 1563 when Sir John described himself as recently widowed and minded to take a new wife.⁷⁵ As John Tempest had been born about the turn of the century, this was a surprisingly late marriage to a widow who was probably financially secure in her own right. This bears on Sir Richard's will: whilst Sir John inherited much of the family's influence in Bradford (but not the Bowling family lands whilst his mother lived), he was probably too impecunious to establish a household of his own. In 1539 he was living at Bowling with his mother.⁷⁶ But one wonders whether there was not an expectation within the family that he would inherit some or all of the Bowling interest and that the descent of the estates would mirror that in his grandfather's generation, as it eventually did, with two childless brothers finally passing their land to the son of a third brother. It is striking that even whilst his brother lived, it was John Tempest who acted as a steward for the Duchy of Lancaster's court at Barnoldswick, and in 1543 it was he, and not his brother, who was granted the stewardship of Wakefield, the Constableness of Sandal and other duchy offices for life.⁷⁷ He was also steward of Bradford from 1559 at the latest (and probably much earlier).⁷⁸ It was also Sir John rather than his brother who bought lands in Cullingworth, late of Rievaulx, in 1540 and the manor of Wilsden, formerly of Byland, in 1541.⁷⁹ He was

⁷³ W. A. Shaw, *The Knights of England*, 2 vols (London, 1906), II, p. 44.

⁷⁴ *LP*, xvii, no. 1180. He may have failed to make a will because the estates were settled on his brother.

⁷⁵ These details are taken from BL, Add. MS 40670 except for the fact of her death which comes from C3/181/94.

⁷⁶ E36/38, fol. 3^r.

⁷⁷ *LP*, xviii (i), no. 981 (111). As steward, he too was criticised for maladministration in the granting of waste land in the manor of Wakefield. *Court Rolls of the Manor of Wakefield from October 1550–September 1552*, ed. Anne Weikel, YAS, Wakefield Court Rolls Series, 7 (1989), pp. xv–xvi.

⁷⁸ Somerville, *Duchy of Lancaster*, I, p. 522. This looks like a reappointment at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign: he may have been steward somewhat earlier.

⁷⁹ *LP*, xv, no. 613 (42); xvi, no. 678 (3).

made a JP in Yorkshire in 1542. In the same year he was serving on the borders in the war against Scotland: captured in 1542, he was ransomed, and remained in the Scots' hands for a whole year.⁸⁰ He continued to serve, and saw action in 1544 and again in 1545 when, as we saw, he was knighted. On his brother's death in 1545 he inherited the Craven estates of the family; but he had to wait for his mother to die in 1554 before he inherited the Bowling estates. At some point in the intervening years he was wounded in an affray with some of the inhabitants of Hanlith in Kirkby Malham. Tempest's bill against them in Star Chamber recounts how he stumbled, whilst hunting, into an attack on his tithe barn there and was assaulted, receiving wounds to his head and neck. But nothing more about this can be discovered.⁸¹

Again, without any personal materials, Sir John Tempest's life cannot be described in flesh-coloured tones, only in the bones of his interactions with his creditors. The last decade of Sir John's life saw him plunge into major financial collapse from which he was rescued by his relatives acting in the larger family interest.⁸² The first signs of Tempest's descent into debt are found amongst the recognisances enrolled before the clerks of recognisances appointed under a statute of 23 Henry VIII. It was a common practice for money to be borrowed on bond or recognisance, whereby the borrower undertook to (re)pay a fixed sum to the lender at a date in the future (normally a year or so after the agreement was made but sometimes only a matter of weeks). If payment was not made on the due date, then the lender could sue for a penal sum — often twice the amount borrowed. Registration of recognisances before the clerks offered safeguards to both parties: but it also allowed the lender to begin a process to collect his debt if the borrower defaulted. This material is less easy to handle than might be supposed. Some of the recognisances are not for loans but for the fulfilment of covenants in indentures; in some cases we are not told the sum borrowed, only the penalty, and the former has to be guessed at by a rule of thumb that the penalty was normally twice the loan; and we are not always told when the lender had been satisfied and the bond cancelled.

In the decade after 1553, Tempest appears at least thirty-three times borrowing sums of money, mostly from a small circle of London merchants. The total borrowed is in the region of £11,000, but this is an unrealistic assessment because the same sums are counted repeatedly as one loan was satisfied by contracting a further loan. Hence two loans made in February 1555 (for £250) were satisfied on 7 May 1555, but on 6 May 1555 the same lender lent a further £100, to be repaid in December 1555 — which it was, but quite probably out of £700 borrowed in mid-November. Rough and ready calculations suggest that at the end of 1555 Tempest owed £900 on bonds, at the end of 1560 about £2500, but on 1 July 1563 (a date whose significance will appear) he appears to have had outstanding loans, some of them from several years earlier, of £3100. As almost all of these were overdue, the total liability would have been around double this, and it is not impossible that the claim made in 1563–64, that he was bound to George Keynsham and Anthony Walker in the sum of £7000, was correct.⁸³

Borrowing on bonds was only one of the ways in which Tempest raised money: he also resorted to mortgages which were, from the lenders' point of view, the securer means

⁸⁰. *LP*, XVIII (i), nos. 464, 700, 741.

⁸¹. STAC3/4/39.

⁸². The Chancery decree of 1564 described his saviours as 'being near of kin' to Tempest, C78/24, no. 37.

⁸³. C78/24, no. 37. This is in addition to his obligations by mortgage discussed below. In a bill in Chancery, Tempest described how he had borrowed £800 on a statute staple which he backed by a mortgage raised on lands. As he could not pay on the due date, he bought time (from Easter until 3 May) by a payment of £40 and by giving Keynsham the agistment for forty-six oxen and steers: none the less, Keynsham foreclosed. I cannot relate this episode to any of the known transactions between the two. C3/475/72.

of lending. It must be appreciated that a sixteenth-century mortgage had none of the flexibility of the modern instrument. The mortgages Tempest was entering into are best thought of as sales which could be abrogated by paying a fixed sum on a fixed day (normally a year in the future). If the premises were redeemed, then the sale was void: but if the date set was missed, then the sale became absolute in law and the mortgagor had no further right (the 'equity of redemption') to retrieve his property. The mortgage therefore presented the danger to the mortgagor that he might lose his lands if he failed to redeem on the due date and conversely to the mortgagee, that he might find himself saddled with property he did not want, but would have to sell on, either back to the mortgagor or to a third party, to recover his costs. The parties protected their interest by having the mortgage deed enrolled on the Close Rolls, and it is from these enrolments that the present account is based, all the original deeds being lost.

In June 1555 Sir John mortgaged the manors of Hebden, Conistone, Burnsall and Thorpe in Wharfedale to George Keynsham of London gent. for £500. In November 1557, perhaps as a way of rescheduling his debts, he mortgaged the same manors to Keynsham for £400. In November 1558 he repaid the mortgage to Keynsham by borrowing £600 on a mortgage of the same manors from Sir Arthur Darcy.⁸⁴ There may then have been a further but unenrolled mortgage of these same manors to Keynsham in November 1559; but in this month he borrowed a further £500 from Keynsham on the security of a mortgage of the manor of Thornton and Denholme Park.⁸⁵ In November 1560 he mortgaged Thornton and Denholme Park to one Anthony Walker of London gent., again for £500, and this suggests that the total he owed at the beginning of 1561 was £1000. Then in May 1561 he mortgaged the manor of Bowling and lands in Bradford, Great Horton and Little Horton to one Thomas Rowett of London, mercer, for £625. The following May he mortgaged the same lands to Keynsham for £600, suggesting that by this time he owed Keynsham £1600 plus interest.⁸⁶ There were other mortgages of Waddington, Easington and Paythorne to Keynsham of which we have no details. The evidence suggests that by mid-1563 Keynsham was able to foreclose on Tempest's lands. The mortgage of the manor of Thornton and Denholme Park to Anthony Walker also remained to be satisfied, but in 1563 we discover that Walker had also held mortgages on the tithes of Pinchbeck in Lincolnshire and the vicarage of Bradford.

The Tempest estate was saved by the intervention of Thomas Waterton of Walton, his brother-in-law, Alexander Rishworth of the Heath near Wakefield, Richard Tempest of Newstead and other friends who bought up Tempest's debts from Keynsham and Walker. Here the key source is a Chancery bill brought by Sir John in 1563 and the decree in the case made on 12 February 1564.⁸⁷ The bill, which states Tempest's view of events, begins by admitting a heavy debt to Keynsham and Walker. Just how much cannot be ascertained, for the bill is in poor condition, but the decree reports that Tempest owed £1900 on mortgage to Keynsham and £840 to Walker. As he was recently widowed and had no children, Tempest tells us that his mind had turned to remarrying and the possibility of children. In order to protect the inheritance of his unborn children, he had approached Thomas Waterton, Alexander Rishworth, Nicholas Tempest (his brother), Richard Tempest (his nephew), Richard Tempest of Newstead, Thomas Wentworth and

⁸⁴. C54/523, 545, 550.

⁸⁵. C54/568.

⁸⁶. C54/620.

⁸⁷. These arrangements are reconstructed from the Chancery pleadings, C3/181/94 (which are in very poor condition and partly illegible) and the decree, C78/24 no. 37. The settlement of 30 June 1563 is not enrolled on the Close Rolls (although the bonds for observance are [C54/649, no. 62 et seq.]), but the settlement is recited in Sir John's IPM, E150/254/16.

Matthew Redman, his 'faithful and trusty friends', for aid. They were to approach Keynsham and Walker to negotiate a settlement for Tempest. But as events were to show, they were less concerned to protect Sir John's unborn issue than the inheritance of Richard Tempest. Having bought up his debts, they called Sir John to York for discussions, and there had him arrested on his obligations. Unable to find sureties for his release, he was committed to gaol and remained there until he agreed to their demands and executed the conveyances they required of him. He did so, then complained to Chancery that he had only put his name to the deeds 'by coercion and extreme duress of imprisonment'.

'Well understanding the great debts and unthrifty bargains made by the plaintiff and minding to preserve the ancient patrimony and inheritance descended to [Tempest]', his friends had approached Keynsham and Walker to negotiate the redemption of the lands. The mortgagees agreed to accept £3020 for the fee simple of the lands which was then in their possession. By deeds dated 6 July 1563, Waterton, Rishworth and Tempest purchased the lands in their own names, settling lands worth £100 per annum on Tempest for the term of his life with a remainder to Richard Tempest, son and heir of Nicholas Tempest, Sir John's nephew and heir, and then to other male members of the Tempest family.⁸⁸ There was then a further conveyance between Sir John and his kinsmen at the end of July 1563, we must assume the one Tempest was imprisoned until he would make, which reiterated these terms. The manor of Barrowparr in Lincolnshire was conveyed to Waterton, Rishworth and Tempest towards the satisfaction of Tempest's debts by way of a mortgage for £2520 (which he did not redeem). He also agreed to pay to them £500 towards the discharge of his debts. These arrangements were further strengthened by dismissal by Chancery of Tempest's complaint against his 'faithful and trusty friends'. The final element in the settlement of the estates was a marriage settlement made between Richard Tempest and Eleanor Scrope, the daughter of Lord Scrope of Castle Bolton, in September 1564.⁸⁹

We might note that we have no indication why Sir John needed all this money. The only comment we have is opaque: Sir John referred to his 'great and intolerable losses and damages', but we do not know whether his weakness was for building, gambling or women, or whether he was investing heavily (and perhaps unsuccessfully) in trade or coalmining.⁹⁰ Perhaps he simply lived ostentatiously to spite his younger brother and heir: certainly his lack of children seemed to weigh on him. It was the assessment of the Archbishop of York in June 1565 that Tempest was 'a ruler of men and service, [but] not able to rule himself or the men' which suggests that he was an unimpressive figure. This perhaps explains why he was omitted from the commission of the peace in 1561.⁹¹ He never remarried and died in November 1565.

At this moment the future of the family may have seemed to have been protected, but whilst the actions of Waterton and the others saved Tempest from the ignominy of absolute collapse, it also left a legacy of debt which Richard Tempest, who succeeded his uncle on his death in 1565, could not manage without sales. It appears that some of the payments to Keynsham and Walker were financed by the sale of lands in Lincolnshire to Lord Clinton in January 1564, and it was only in February 1564 that the consideration to Keynsham was fully paid.⁹²

⁸⁸. Nicholas Tempest's rights were protected: it is clear from his will that he considered himself to be the owner of both Bowling and Braecwell. Borthwick Institute York, Prob. Reg. 19A, fols 72^v–73^r.

⁸⁹. Bodl., MS Dodsworth 88, fols 97–101.

⁹⁰. There are indications that Sir John was trying to develop coal mining. For instance, in 1556 he took a licence to dig for coal in Barnoldswick from the Duchy of Lancaster. DL42/32, fol. 226.

⁹¹. Mrs Tempest, 'The Tempest family', p. 504.

⁹². C54/657, nos. 51–54; C54/662 no. 19.

Even then Tempest was reliant on mortgages which, with the passage of time became sales, and on his death in 1583 he left an estate to his brother which had been further diminished by sale. In March 1564 the manor of *West Pathenell* in Craven was mortgaged to William Lister of Thornton in Craven, Esq., but apparently redeemed.⁹³ In September 1568 Richard Tempest mortgaged the capital messuage of *West Pathenell* to Lister but also entered into a bond undertaking to pay Lister £600 the following February, thus indicating that this sale had not liquidated the debt between them: in January 1569 the manor and capital messuage of *West Pathenell* were mortgaged to one Richard Rogers, citizen and goldsmith of London for £800. This mortgage was not redeemed, for in 1572 Rogers sold the manor and capital messuage to Robert Savile, illegitimate son of Sir Henry, then of Poolham in Lincolnshire, Esq., for £1274 13s. 4d. In 1596 Savile's son sold the manor to the rising lawyer and serjeant at law, Thomas Walmesley of Dunkenhall in Lancashire, who was amassing a significant estate in Craven and east Lancashire. Tempest sold three messuages in Burnsall and Thorpe in 1565, probably to their tenants; the following year he sold the manors of Burnsall and Thorpe to Thomas and John Proctor of Cowpercote, who quickly reconveyed them to Tempest's distant cousin Henry Tempest of Broughton.⁹⁴

The manor of Conistone in upper Wharfedale was sold to Rishworth in 1568 for £500 and then mortgaged by him to Rogers for £400. In July 1572 Rogers sold Conistone back to Rishworth with other property (a capital messuage called 'Newsome Grange' with appurtenances in Ouston, Burghwallis and Skellow, and a messuage in Shelf). Conistone was sold on by Rishworth and then, in 1583, sold to the tenants.⁹⁵

On 2 July 1572 Tempest sold to Savile for £1312 10s. the manor of Hebden in Wharfedale and a whole swath of property to the west and north-west of Bradford: the manors of Denholme and Hallas (*Hallows*), Denholme Park, grounds called Hallas and Hallas Park (with the deer), grounds called Whiteshaw and Manywell and a messuage in Cullingworth and Bingley, all to a value of £80 and more. Then, in a further deed between Tempest and Savile of 10 November, it was agreed between them that Savile would sell the manor of Hebden and lands in Burnsall and Linton back to Tempest, and that Savile would keep Denholme, Denholme Park and the other lands to the west and north-west of Bradford.⁹⁶ By a deed of the same day, Tempest sold Thornton Hall to John Watmough of Halifax, mercer, for £660, and he immediately seems to have mortgaged Hebden to Nicholas Bateman of Kendal, from whom it was never recovered.⁹⁷ In 1578 Tempest sold Walmesley the manor of Paythorne.⁹⁸

So Richard Tempest was unable to stop the rot which his uncle had started and was forced into further sales of the estate. Again, little is known about him. His first wife, Eleanor Scrope, died early; he remarried Elizabeth, the daughter of Thomas Wentworth of Elmsall, but predeceased her. As there were no issue of either marriage, his heir on his death in 1583 was his brother Robert. From about 1577 Richard sat as a JP; he was

⁹³. *Pathenell* is the modern Painley in Horton in Craven township. I use the archaic form here because there is no modern 'West Painley'.

⁹⁴. C54/665, no. 69, C54/771, C54/783, C54/778, C54/887; Lancashire RO, DDPt 46/1 (Walmesley's commonplace book, containing notes on the property he acquired), fols 37^r–38^v; BL, Add. MS 40670, citing *Feet of Fine Tudor*, 1, p. 336 and deeds at Broughton.

⁹⁵. Skipton Public Library, Raistrick MSS, 445–46; C54/788, C54/889.

⁹⁶. Sir John Savile, Robert's son, retained Denholme Park into the seventeenth century. R. H. Fawcett, 'The story of Wilsden', *Bradford Antiquary*, n.s. 9 (1976), p. 17.

⁹⁷. C54/876; C54/897, C54/887, C54/908; C3/219/12.

⁹⁸. Lancashire RO, DDPt 46/1, fol. 42^r.

also MP for the Duchy of Lancaster's borough of Aldborough in 1572.⁹⁹ The sole incident of his life known to us was that in November 1569 he was captured at Tadcaster with a force of 200 men during the Rising of the North. He refused to join the rebels and was released when he undertook not to oppose them further. The following year he was named by Sir Thomas Gargrave as a meet councillor and a Protestant, but never achieved any prominence in the government of Yorkshire.¹⁰⁰

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It is possible to trace the broad outlines of the history of the Tempest family, but this is history as medievalists write it. We can establish their genealogy, their office holding, criminal activities and indebtedness, but little more. Sir Richard prospered because he had the ear of the king and took the opportunity of the temporary eclipse of the Savile family to establish a hegemony in a wide district between Bradford and Wakefield. His nemesis was much delayed, but there is every sign that he died in disgrace. As much as the Tempests' rise turned on his character, so too the further fortunes of the family pivoted on the personality of Sir John Tempest. It is invariably hard to attribute motive to individuals whose personalities are almost entirely concealed from us. We know no more about why he dissipated his inheritance than why a later Tempest, another Richard, sold the remaining estates before his death in 1657. There is doubtless more to be discovered about the family. One would, for instance, welcome a modern account of Bowling Hall and a new discussion of the armorial glass there. There are scattered deeds to be exploited and hints that the family, in common with their contemporaries, were busy exploiting enclosure when and where they could.¹⁰¹ It seems fairly plain that Sir John Tempest left his heirs impoverished: and having attracted the historian's interest for the wrong reasons, the family were doubtless more than happy to keep their names out of the records of the courts. In the absence of their own records, they exchanged notoriety for obscurity.¹⁰²

⁹⁹. Hence he is entitled to a biography in *The History of Parliament, 1558–1603*, ed. P. W. Hasler, 3 vols (London, 1983), III, pp. 480–81. But they discovered little about him either.

¹⁰⁰. *Calendar of State Papers Addenda 1566–79*, pp. 113–14; J. J. Cartwright, *Chapters in the History of Yorkshire* (Wakefield, 1872), p. 68.

¹⁰¹. At Bowling at dates between 1556 and 1609, *West Riding Deeds*, ed. W. Robertshaw, Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Soc., Local Record Series, II (1936), pp. 12, 78; Paythorne, 1570, DDPt 46/1, fol. 37^{r-v}; Waddington c. 1594, C3/247/76; Wilsden, Fawcett, 'History of Wilsden', pp. 23–24; Thornton, Broughton Hall MSS, Box 8/4, Bowling deeds no. 7 (1607) (which I owe to the copies of Mrs Tempest's abstracts held at West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, and Mr W. J. Connor).

¹⁰². I would be delighted to receive further references to the Tempest family and their estates through to the final sale of the estates in the 1650s.

THE ORIGINS OF A YORKSHIRE DYNASTY: THE WILSONS OF ESHTON HALL

By Herbert Masterson

The fortune of many gentry families in eighteenth-century Yorkshire was founded, not surprisingly, on their forefathers' success in the local wool and cloth trades, and was built up in later generations by land acquisition through careful investment and judicious marriage. This social development path is discussed by several authors.¹ There were also successful wool and cloth merchants from elsewhere who used their wealth to buy country estates and gentry status in Yorkshire, among whom were two brothers-in-law, Mathew Wilson and Thomas Hammond. Both clothiers in London, they chose in the mid-seventeenth century to settle respectively at Eshton and at Threshfield in Yorkshire, an easy horse ride apart. Mathew was the son of Robert and Alice Wilson of Brigsteer in Westmorland.² Consistent with his origin in the Kendal area, where so much commerce depended on wool and the cloth industry, his probate inventory of 1656 listed nearly £500 of clothier's stock held at Blackwell Hall by Mathew and his partner, Thomas Wilson.³ Thomas Hammond and his father, on the other hand, seem to have been Londoners. This note explores how Mathew's initiative, with Thomas Hammond's support, established Eshton as the seat of the Wilson family, which, through succeeding generations, provided its share of Yorkshire politicians, soldiers and leaders of industry.

MATHEW WILSON AND HIS RELATIVES

The churches of Westmorland, particularly those of Kendal, Heversham, and the impressive Saxon church of Morland, have many Wilson and Wilson-related memorials. Although Brown's monumental untangling of the family trees grown around Edward Wilson of Nether Levens (1557–1653) lists no Wilson called Mathew, there are several archive references to a Mathew Wilson in the Kendal area at that time.⁴ Specifically relevant, the register of deeds of Levens notes that 'Thomas Chambers, now Mathew Wilson, holds [land in Brigsteer for 9*d.* rent]'.⁵ This same land is recorded in Mathew's will as a bequest to his widowed mother, Alice.⁶ Mathew continued to hold land there and revisited the area frequently on business and on pleasure. His mother regularly sent

¹ For example R. G. Wilson, 'Merchants and Land: The Ibbetsons of Leeds and Denton', *Northern History*, 24 (1988), pp. 75–100, who cites further examples.

² West Yorkshire Archive Service, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, MD335/21/195, pedigree. Alice was perhaps a daughter of the Thomas Chambers mentioned later.

³ *Yorkshire Probate Inventories, 1542–1689*, ed. P. C. D. Brears, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 134 (1972), pp. 105–18; WYAS, YAS, MD335/18. Blackwell Hall was a market place for woollen cloths near the Guildhall, where foreigners (i.e. not London citizens) were obliged to offer their cloth for sale.

⁴ R. P. Brown, *Edward Wilson of Nether Levens (1557–1653) and his Kin*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Tract Series, xii (Kendal, 1931).

⁵ *Records relating to the Barony of Kendale by the late William Farrer*, ed. John F. Curwen, II, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Record Series, 5 (1924), p. 137. This relates to rents of assize (1641–c. 1650) of the manor of Levens, held by Sir Henry Bellingham.

⁶ PRO, Prerogative Court of Canterbury wills, PROB 11/260, fol. 151.

him rent for his Braithwaite Close, and in June 1656 he paid 6*d.* for the repair of 'the chimney at my house at Brigsteare'.⁷

Mathew's will helps us identify some of his other close relatives. No mention throughout a long text of a wife, children, or wife's relatives implies he was unmarried. He reinforced this impression by leaving his main bequest to a godson, John Wilson. However, he did mention two sisters, Ellen and Agnes. Ellen, the widow of Henry Fisher of Natland in Cumberland had five children, Edward, Nicholas, Henry, Margaret and Ellen, and their father had entrusted £200 to Mathew to provide for them.⁸ Mathew discharged his account with the children in cash and in kind. Edward, for example, had £40, £15 in cash and the rest in clothes and keep. In early 1653 Edward stayed twenty weeks with Robert Preston at Settle at Mathew's expense, perhaps for education, and in March 1655, Mathew paid Henry's enrolment fee of 2*s.* at Burnsall Grammar School.⁹ To Giles Redman, the husband of Edward's sister Ellen, Mathew paid £40 in August 1647 'being more than was due him'.¹⁰ In his will Mathew bequeathed the lands he held in Westmorland first to his mother for her lifetime, but then to his sister Ellen Fisher for her lifetime, and thereafter to her children. He also forgave Ellen a debt of £50.

Agnes had married John Backhouse, described as a yeoman of Eshton. Mathew's first mention of 'my brother John Backhouse' was in July 1652, which may indicate the date they married. They had three children, John, Anne and Ellen. Mathew bequeathed Netherhesleden to Agnes, whose son John subsequently inherited the estate.¹¹

Elizabeth, a third sister, was not mentioned in Mathew's will, she being then presumably dead. Her first husband, John Dixon of Ironmonger Lane in the parish of St Martins in London, was a clothier who had partnered Mathew in at least one deal.¹² He made his will in January 1646/7, being then 'infirm in my body'.¹³ He requested he be buried in the parish church of St Margaret in Lothbury, as near his son as possible.¹⁴ He left everything to his wife Elizabeth, including properties in the parish of Kendal and Windermere in their native Westmorland. He requested that their daughter Elizabeth 'be brought to a wise good education till her age of twenty one years or day of marriage, which shall first happen'. The will was 'published and declared by John Dixon of London, Citizen and Girdler, as his last will and testament in the presence of James Crabbe, Thom Hamon'.¹⁵ Probate was granted to Elizabeth in January 1647/8, and Thomas Cliffe, a clothworker of Leeds, provided a comprehensive quitclaim to the widowed Elizabeth Dixon in August 1648.¹⁶

⁷ Details too numerous to reference individually are from Mathew Wilson's unpagged notebooks, WYAS, YAS, MD335/18, MD335/62/7.

⁸ WYAS, YAS, MD335/21/195; *Yorkshire Probate Inventories*, p. 111. Mathew received this legacy, and perhaps another similar one, from their uncle, Nicholas Fisher, through Edward Wilson of Nether Levens in August 1647, but not all had been paid out before he died.

⁹ This school, then in the charge of Richard Clarke, BA, had been established in the parish of St Wilfrid at Burnsall in 1602 by the benevolence of Sir William Craven, the son of a local yeoman. Robert Craven, who had found wealth and fame as London's Lord Mayor. See *The Parish Register of Burnsall-in-Craven, 1559-1700*, ed. W. J. Stavert (Skipton, 1893), p. x.

¹⁰ WYAS, YAS, MD335/21/195, MD335/18.

¹¹ He may be the 'Mr John Backhouse of Netherhesleden' buried in Arncliffe parish church in 1701 (*Registers of the ancient parish of Arncliffe including those of Halton Gill and Hubberholme, 1663-1812*, ed. W. A. Shuffrey (Bradford, 1910) p. 27).

¹² John Dixon and Mathew Wilson provided cloth to the value of £75 for the Scottish armies in Ireland and England (PRO, SP 46/106 fol. 17, 11 March 1644/5).

¹³ PRO, PROB 11/203, will proved 5 Jan. 1647/8 by relict Elizabeth.

¹⁴ Baby John, one week old, had been buried there 23 Aug. 1642. John himself was buried in the church on Christmas Eve 1647. See Guildhall Library, London, parish registers of St Margaret Lothbury, MS 4346/1.

¹⁵ James Crabbe and Mathew had a substantial business relationship (*Yorkshire Probate Inventories*, p. 111).

¹⁶ WYAS, YAS, MD335/57.

Thomas Hammond's role in the Dixon household and as a witness to Dixon's will is clarified in a letter Mathew wrote to him from Kendal in June 1647. It was addressed to Thomas at John Dixon's house in Ironmonger Lane from his 'loving friend, Mathew Wilson'.¹⁷ Mathew bids Thomas 'be pleased to remember my love to my brother Dixon and my sister, not forgetting little Betty' and adds he was recently 'to Brigsteare where I find our mother with the rest of her household in very good health'. It seems that Thomas was apprenticed to John Dixon but was also trading on his own behalf, although in Mathew's view rather unsuccessfully. Interestingly, Mathew already knew Thomas well enough to offer to help him financially, and to ask him to chase up some of Mathew's debtors in London. Presumably for his brother-in-law's benefit, Mathew insisted Thomas first get Dixon's approval.

A year after John Dixon's death, on 16 January 1648/9, Elizabeth Dixon and Thomas Hammond were married in the parish church of St Bartholomew the Less in London, the parish church of St Bartholomew's hospital.¹⁸ In normal times the parish extent was, as it is now, limited to the patients and staff, and the small number of residents in the hospital precinct, and this might prompt the thought that, since Elizabeth does not seem to have joined Thomas at Threshfield, they married there because she was ill.¹⁹ However, the far from normal conditions of the Civil War period discount this suggestion. Before 1642 the church saw about twenty marriages a year. By 1648 the number had risen to 384.²⁰ Many of the couples came from other parishes, many royalists among them, since the vicar and Governors were acknowledged royalists. However, the Hospital progressively saw more Parliamentary soldier patients, and, perhaps because of its Royalist background, several Parliamentary commanders, including Colonel Pride, became Hospital Governors.²¹

A few months after her mother remarried, 'Little Betty' died aged eight and was buried beside her brother and father in St Margaret Lothbury church on 13 July 1649.²²

In marrying Elizabeth, presumably with Mathew's positive encouragement, Thomas may have followed a long-established tradition of apprentices prospering through marrying their master's widow.²³ In his will dated 12 March 1684/5, he emphasises that he has met Elizabeth's wishes in full, presumably in gratitude for the benefit she brought him from John Dixon's estate:²⁴

whereas my first wife Elizabeth did desire me before her death to give £200 to such of her and her former husband's [John Dixon's] kindred as she should nominate — to her sister Fisher £40, to Margrett Fisher her daughter £60, to Agnes Backhouse her sister £20 and to her daughter Anne £20 . . . according to my said wife's desire as God enabled me I have paid all the said

¹⁷. WYAS, YAS, MD335/24/322.

¹⁸. Archives of St Bartholomew's Hospital, London, parish register of St Bartholomew the Less.

¹⁹. Perhaps relevant to Thomas's marital state, his mother appears to have lived at Threshfield from 1651 until June 1652, but died in London in Jan. 1653/4, when Thomas repaid, through Mathew, the £5 4s. which Thomas Wilson had laid out for Mrs Hammond's funeral.

²⁰. There were two marriages on 16 Jan. and seven in the three-day period (St Bartholomew's Archives).

²¹. One consequence was the suspension of the Sister in the new Soldiers' Ward 'for opprobrious and reviling speeches' — she wished to see Sir Thomas Fairfax's head on London Bridge. See *The Royal Hospital of St Bartholomew, 1123–1973*, ed. V. C. Medevei and J. L. Thornton (London, 1974), p. 40, and N. Moore, *The History of St Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols (London, 1918), II, pp. 302, 304, 308.

²². Guildhall Library, MS 4346/1.

²³. P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: the Grocers' Company & the Politics & Trade of London, 1000–1485* (Yale, 1995), p. 186. Amongst others, a John Hammond in an earlier century had married the widow of his master, Adam de Salisbury, both members of the Pepperers' Fraternity. Through this boost to his career, John rose to be knighted as mayor of London. His will provided a chantry for the soul of his master and left £50 and all his pepperer's implements to Adam's son (*Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Hustings, London, 1258–1688*, II, p. 516).

²⁴. WYAS, YAS, MD423/282.

several sums to the said several persons accordingly, *viz* to my wife's sister Ellen Fisher £40 in full, to my cousin John Preston late of Appletreewick who married the said Margrett Fisher £60 in full, to John Backhouse husband of Agnes Backhouse £20 in full, and to James Airton of Eshton who married Anne Backhouse aforesaid £20 in full . . . as by receipts under the several recited persons hands may and will appear among my writings.

Perhaps in the same vein, he later chose Mathew's godson and heir, John Wilson, to inherit Threshfield.

In February 1654/5 Ellen Fisher's daughter, Margaret, had married John Preston, lord of the manor of Appletreewick, which was five miles from the estates of both Thomas Hammond and Mathew Wilson at Threshfield and Eshton. Mathew and Thomas were present as uncles of the bride, and the register of the parish church of St Wilfrid at Burnsall featured this important society occasion prominently.²⁵ There had been some unusual expenditure in Mathew's household at Eshton beforehand. Margaret got a red waistcoat for 3s. in December 1654, and 'whalebone and other things' for 2s. in January. There was also a hat and hat box for John Preston costing 13s. and Mathew spent 3s. 9d. on meat from Skipton market.

ESHTON MANOR AND THE BINDLOSS CONNECTION

Eshton Hall sits on rising ground 1½ miles north-east of the village of Gargrave, which is five miles north-west of the market town of Skipton in North Yorkshire. The early ownership of the manor is traced colourfully by Wheeler, and subsequently by Spence.²⁶ In 1582 George, third Earl of Cumberland, acquired Eshton manor from Christopher Marton in return for the manors of East and West Marton and £500 in cash. His brother, Francis Clifford of Londesborough, used Eshton Hall for a time when steward of his brother's Craven estates. However, Earl George, in financial difficulty through living at Court as the Queen's Champion and through funding unrewarding ventures as a privateer, was soon forced to use his lands to raise capital. Eventually in November 1596, he mortgaged Eshton manor, together with that of Netherhesleden in Littondale, some nine miles to the north-west, to Robert Bindloss of Borwick Hall for £2000. The mortgage was to be redeemed on 26 March 1605. In the event, by a bargain and sale of 8 October 1605, Earl George made the properties over absolutely to Robert Bindloss 'of Eshton' and Francis Bindloss, Robert's son and heir apparent, for a further payment of £960.²⁷ Earl George died within the month in London, £1000 in debt. His embalmed body was laid in the family vault in Holy Trinity parish church in Skipton.²⁸

The Bindloss family wealth, like that of Mathew Wilson, stemmed from the cloth trade.²⁹ Borwick Hall is in the parish of Holy Trinity, Warton in Lancashire. When the

²⁵. *The Parish Register of Burnsall-in-Craven*, p. 94.

²⁶. W. Wheeler, *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire and their Associations* (Leeds, 1889), p. 127; R. T. Spence, *The Privateering Earl: George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland, 1558–1605* (Stroud, 1995), pp. 37, 51, 135, 140.

²⁷. WYAS, YAS, MD335/32/1, deed dated 8 Oct. 1605 which cites the mortgage bond of 2 Nov. 1596. Alice, the daughter of Robert Bindloss and his wife, Alice Dockwray of Kendal, was married from Eshton Hall to Henry Banks of Bank Newton, a few miles to the south-west, in Oct. 1598 (WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/14/1, marriage settlement 2 Oct. 1598 of the manor of Bank Newton between Henry Banks of Bank Newton and Robert Bindloss of Eshton).

²⁸. T. D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven*, 3rd edn. (Leeds, 1878), p. 355.

²⁹. For Bindloss and Borwick, apart from the manuscripts quoted, see W. O. Roper, 'Borwick Hall', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 47, n.s. 11 (1895), pp. 21–36; Roper, 'The Missing History of Warton, by John Lucas', *THSLC*, 38, n.s. 2 (1889 for 1886), p. 167; J. Nicholson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 vols (London, 1887), 1, p. 86; J. R. Ford, 'Borwick Hall', *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, 25 (1925), p. 275; *Visitation of the County Palatine of Lancashire . . . by Sir William Dugdale*, ed. F. R. Raines, Chetham Society, 84 (1872), p. 24; *Country Life* (1935), pp. 142–48, *Country Life* (1911), pp. 711–16.

wealthy Kendal cloth merchant Robert Bindloss bought it with a moiety of the manor from Thomas and Marmaduke Redmayne in 1567, it consisted of a stout stone peel tower, walls six feet thick, dating from the Scottish raids of the earlier centuries.³⁰ Before he died in 1595, this Robert had developed the property extensively. Its long barns, according to tradition, served as warehouse and staging post for pack horses delivering Kendal cloth to London.³¹ Even as early as the fifteenth century, Kendal traders were taking pack-horse loads of cloth as far as Southampton for export to northern Europe.³²

A later Robert Bindloss (1625–88) inherited Borwick Hall, together with other lands in the counties of Lancaster, Westmorland, Durham, and York (including Eshton and Netherhesleden) through his grandfather's will of February 1629/30.³³ When aged only 17, Robert was created a baronet, and he later became an MP, representing the Borough of Lancaster between 1645 and 1653, and the County in the Convention Parliament of 1660. He also served as High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1658, 1672 and 1673.³⁴ He extended Borwick Hall in 1650, the year before Charles II spent the night there on his march south to defeat at Worcester — a visitor whom a cautious Sir Robert ensured he was not at home to receive. It was this Robert Bindloss who sold Eshton and Netherhesleden to Mathew Wilson.

The link between Robert Bindloss and Mathew Wilson which led to the Eshton transaction may have been simply their involvement in the Kendal cloth trade, but perhaps Thomas Wilson, Mathew's business partner, was an intermediary. Mathew referred occasionally to loans he made in the mid-1650s to Mary Wilson, described as Thomas Wilson's mother, who apparently lived in Sir Robert's parish of Warton. Mary Wilson was sufficiently important to be buried in the church when she died in May 1685,³⁵ and it may be significant that Thomas consistently witnessed bonds dealing with Sir Robert's debts to Mathew. However it was, Mathew first secured an interest in the Eshton and Netherhesleden estates from Sir Robert Bindloss and his wife, Dame Rebecca, by a lease of January 1646/7.³⁶ For a consideration of £600 and a peppercorn rent, the Bindlosses granted Mathew a ninety-nine-year lease.³⁷ A fine and recovery of Eshton and Netherhesleden are dated May 1648.³⁸ The acquittance for the payment of the purchase price of £2700, to which Mathew's partner Thomas Wilson was one of the witnesses, is dated 16 June of that year.³⁹

The Hall at Eshton when Mathew Wilson bought it had, in addition to a central hall, a 'great parlour' with an adjacent closet, a buttery, a kitchen, a brew house, and a garden house. There was a master chamber, two chambers over the hall, three chambers over the kitchen and two over the buttery.⁴⁰ He paid Sir Robert £30 for the household goods left there. Despite his Westmorland upbringing, Mathew may have found the Yorkshire weather trying: in the winter of 1650, he spent £2 on an antimonial cup, a traditional

³⁰. The North West Civic Trust, *The Treasures of Lancashire* (Bolton, 1989), pp. 33–34.

³¹. One barn has a stone dated 1590, the year Robert acquired the other moiety, which carries Robert's initials with those of his wife, Agnes Harrison.

³². B. C. Jones, 'Westmorland pack-horse men in Southampton', *TCWAAS*, 59 (1959), pp. 65–66.

³³. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Prob. Reg. 41, fol. 209, will, 7 Feb. 1629/30.

³⁴. Anon., 'Borwick Hall Visited', *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, 30 (1918), p. 194; Roper in *THSLC*, 47.

³⁵. *The Parish Registers of Warton, 1568–1812*, ed. W. H. Chippindall, Lancashire Parish Register Society, 73 (Preston, 1935), p. 305.

³⁶. Rebecca was daughter and co-heir of Sir Hugh Percy, alderman of London (Wheater, *Historic Mansions of Yorkshire*, p. 127).

³⁷. WYAS, YAS, MD335/37/3.

³⁸. WYAS, YAS, MD335/21/170; WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/i/1.

³⁹. WYAS, YAS, MD335/26/3.

⁴⁰. *Yorkshire Probate Inventories*, p. 106.

remedy for bronchitis. Eshton had some 680 acres, Netherhesleden 600 acres, and both farms were tenanted. William Stow at Eshton and Captain James Backhouse at Netherhesleden each paid an annual rent of about £150, and Mathew consolidated these estates by small purchases of nearby lands, most of which featured in his will as bequests to relatives. He also identified an outstanding debt of £95, disbursed to Sir Robert out of the rents of Netherhesleden. He had held several bonds from Sir Robert — £51 due October 1647 and £102 due December 1647 — whose repayment is not recorded.⁴¹ The acquittance of 16 June 1648 possibly incorporated repayments of these bonds, since it acknowledged that Sir Robert had the total purchase price on *and before* that date.

However, Mathew was not slow to go to law to pursue debtors. In his letter of June 1647 from Kendal to Thomas Hammond in London, Mathew asked Thomas to locate by subterfuge one of Mathew's debtors there. He also asked Thomas to take steps to get another arrested. In January 1654/5 Mathew paid 6s. for a writ against Francis Lund and a year later £1 18s. for Mr Marsden's charges in the suit against Lund. In July 1655 he paid Mr Thomas Foster 6s. to secure a judgement against Roger Partington. In August 1656 he paid 2s. 6d. for a writ to arrest Thomas Harrison and 10s. 6d. to William Potter for affecting the arrest. Not surprisingly, in November 1654, Mathew sent his man Dick 'riding into the North about Sir Robert Bindlos debt'. Mathew did recover £127 7s. from Sir Robert in January 1655/6, possibly through a law suit. His probate inventory still listed a 'dasparate [not recoverable] debt' against Sir Robert, but of only £40. The suggestion that Sir Robert may have sold Eshton to Mathew in lieu of debt repayment seems at first sight unlikely.⁴² The three Lancashire peers apart, Sir Robert was probably the wealthiest man in that county with an annual income of £3240.⁴³ Certainly, he was able about 1650 to find substantial funds to take advantage of the financial discomfort of a neighbouring Catholic squire, Robert Blackburn, by buying his manor of Capernwray.⁴⁴ However, he left a reputation for excessive prodigality.⁴⁵ This weakness earned him a formal, if respectful, rebuke from his personal chaplain, Richard Sherlock, who threatened to resign. Sir Robert seems to have reformed sufficiently to avoid this misfortune.⁴⁶

THOMAS HAMMOND AND THRESHFIELD MANOR

While Mathew Wilson was buying his Yorkshire estates, London was an unsettled place following the first Civil War and the impending execution of the king. Within a few years Thomas also left London, following his brother-in-law's example by buying the manor of Threshfield. A small brass plate, now on the east wall behind the altar in the south aisle of Threshfield's parish church of St Michael and All Angels at Linton, records Thomas's death on 24 March 1685/6. His will describes him as 'infirm of body', and stipulates that he be buried in the parish church of Linton in Craven as near to his

⁴¹ WYAS, YAS, MD335/24/344, MD335/24/339.

⁴² *Yorkshire Probate Inventories*, p. 105.

⁴³ The three peers were James Stanley, seventh Earl of Derby, Henry Parker, thirteenth Baron Morley and Monteagle, and Richard Molyneux of Sefton, second Viscount of Maryborough in Ireland (B. G. Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion, 1640–60* (Manchester, 1978), pp. 58, 69 n. 91).

⁴⁴ Blackwood, *The Lancashire Gentry and the Great Rebellion*, p. 92.

⁴⁵ T. D. Whitaker, *An History of Richmondshire in the North Riding of the County of York*, 2 vols (Leeds, 1823), II, p. 313. 'Sir Robert had succeeded to a large estate, the income of which he had spent and far exceeded in promiscuous hospitality.'

⁴⁶ Richard Sherlock, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and Trinity College, Dublin, which later awarded him his doctorate, had been captured at Nantwich by Fairfax while chaplain to a Royalist regiment. When he was evicted from the chaplaincy of New College, Oxford, by the Parliamentary commissioners in 1648, he found a post at Borwick Hall. See W. Beaumont, *Winwick: Its History and Antiquities* (Warrington, 1897).

former wife's grave as might be. By that time, Thomas had married three times, his third wife, Sarah Bateson, surviving him.⁴⁷ His second wife, Mary, the daughter of Henry Curre of Kildwick Hall, a near neighbour, and sister of Henry and John, both citizens of London, had died in 1680.⁴⁸ The Linton register entry states: 'Mrs Mary Hamond, wife of Mr Thos. Hamond of Threshfield buried in Linin the 10th day of Aprill [1680], the fine thereof payd & certified under the hand of Cuthbert Wade Esq, 20^o die Apriles dict.'⁴⁹

As befitted the lord of Threshfield manor, Thomas bequeathed 'to the poor of Threshfield & Linton £20, to be invested in land and the product thereof to be payed by my executor . . . yearly forever on St Thomas Day', a bequest still recognised on the benefactors' board in the church. A further bequest tells us more of his background: 'I give to the poor of St Botolphs parish Aldersgate in London ten pounds and to the poor of the company of the Stationers Hall, whereof my father William Hammond and myself were free, ten pounds'. It seems that William Hammond was 'sworn and admitted a Freeman' of the Stationers' Company on 22 March 1610/11.⁵⁰ As the son of a Freeman of the Company, Thomas could be admitted by patrimony. He achieved this status on 10 January 1648/9, a few days before he and Elizabeth married.⁵¹ Freeman of the Stationers' Company could own copyrights and publish, print, and sell books within the City of London and had sole rights to print certain strong selling texts like almanacs — a profitable right rigorously denied to others.⁵² There is, however, no evidence that the Hammonds took advantage of this right,⁵³ and in Mathew Wilson's inventory, Thomas was described as a clothier. A member of a City Livery Company would not necessarily have followed its trade or craft. A Citizen of London before 1835, however, required membership of a Livery Company, and certain groups were compelled, under pain of prosecution, to be Free of the City.⁵⁴ A discharged bond of a William Hammond recorded in the Stationers' archives suggests Thomas's father, then of Soap Lane in St Pancras parish in London, was also a clothier.⁵⁵

Thomas Hammond began to negotiate the purchase of Threshfield about 1651. Earl George, before he died in 1605, had bought several former Norton manors, including Threshfield, from James I. The manors had been confiscated by the Crown following the Rising of the North in 1569. George's brother and successor, Earl Francis, in 1607 granted Threshfield's tenants, Raphe Radcliffe and his son Anthony, both described as 'gentleman', a lease for ninety-nine years. The Radcliffes reassigned the lease in 1609 for its remaining term to Sir Richard Smith of Bromley, Kent, and Coleman Street, London, for a payment of £312 10s.⁵⁶ In 1628 the then tenant, Charles Radcliffe, also

⁴⁷. Whitaker, *Craven*, chart facing p. 238.

⁴⁸. J. Foster, *Pedigrees of the County Families of England: Yorkshire West Riding*, 1 (London, 1874), pedigree of Wilson of Eshton. Mary, as yet unmarried, was bequeathed £300 and a grey nag in her father's will of 1 Mar. 1652/3 (*Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills in the Time of the Commonwealth*, ed. J. W. Clay, YAS Record Series, 9 (1890), p. 64).

⁴⁹. *The Registers of the Parish Church of Linton in Craven*, ed. F. A. Share, 1, Yorkshire Parish Register Society, 5 (1900), p. 130. To support the woollen industry, Parliament had required corpses to be wrapped in wool rather than linen for burial, under penalty of a fine.

⁵⁰. *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1554–1920* (Microfilm, Cambridge, 1985), Freeman's Register, 1605–1703.

⁵¹. *Ibid.*

⁵². K. Swift, 'French Booksellers in the Strand', *Proc. Huguenot Soc.*, 25 (1990), p. 127; D. F. McKenzie, *The London Book Trade in the Later Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1976), p. 20.

⁵³. H. R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of booksellers and printers who were at work in England, Scotland & Ireland from 1641–1667* (London, 1922).

⁵⁴. V. E. Aldous, 'The Archives of the Freedom of the City of London, 1681–1915', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 23 (1989).

⁵⁵. *Records of the Worshipful Company of Stationers*, book of bequests, 1593–1634.

⁵⁶. WYAS, YAS, MD423/270.

described as 'gentleman', bought the manor from Earl Francis and his son and heir, Henry, Lord Clifford.⁵⁷ The price was £200. Included in the manor was the water corn mill at Greenholme or Greenhawe with its facilities.⁵⁸ Radcliffe was required to pay the Earl and his son £7 14s. 4d. annually at the feast of St Michael the Archangel; the manor was subject to an ancient yearly rent of £5, with 33s. for the mill. About six years later, Charles Radcliffe signed an indenture with John Preston, gentleman, of nearby Appletreewick, and two others, conveying his estate to them for the remainder of his natural life.⁵⁹ Thereafter, the manor would revert to Charles's son, Edward. Charles expressed his motivation as 'in consideration of the natural love and affection which he beareth unto Edward Radclif, eldest son and heir apparent' and his intention as 'the better settling of the lands, tenements, and heriditaments hereafter mentioned, in the name and blood of him, the said Charles Radclif, for long as it shall please God to continue the same'. This arrangement lasted only a couple of years. Charles Radcliffe was buried at Linton on 16 May 1637.⁶⁰ Edward was establishing a young family at that time, until his wife died in 1642.⁶¹ On 8 March 1637/8, following his father's death, Edward granted a twenty-one-year lease to Thomas Benson, Doctor of Divinity, then living in Lindrick in Nottinghamshire, 'in consideration of a certain sum of good and lawful money of England to him in hand paid', by which Edward (now designated 'gentleman' in the parish register) continued to live at Threshfield with his mother, Dorothy. After Doctor Benson's death, the lease passed to his daughter and sole executrix, Margaret, and her husband, Roger Dickinson a mercer of East Redford, who agreed on 22 October 1647 that the lease would be void if Edward paid £220 in October of the following year.⁶²

In 1648 John Lambert of Civil War fame, whose seat at Calton in Craven was only six miles away, moved to acquire Threshfield. His interest in Craven manors was, apparently, hereditary.⁶³ His great-grandfather, John Lambert, was a lawyer, who with his son, John, was steward of the courts of Bolton Priory. Held in favour by the commissioners for the dissolution and expropriation of the religious houses, he was enabled to acquire nearly all the extensive lands in the parish of Malham which had belonged to the canons of Bolton. Settling at Calton in that parish, he appears to have purchased no fewer than ten manors in Malhamdale, which increased the value of his estate in his lifetime from £10 to £125 a year. However, John Lambert's inheritance in 1623 from his father, Josias, was an estate worth £300 a year, with debts of £1200 and heavily encumbered with a mortgage and long disadvantageous leases. Since John was a minor, his mother had to add to these debts by settling with the Court of Wards who awarded his custody to her.⁶⁴

At first sight, it is astonishing that Major-General Lambert had time to pursue his interest in Threshfield during 1648–52 when he was so actively involved in war and politics. None the less, in 1648 he obtained from the Dickinsons the transfer of the remaining term of the lease on Threshfield manor in return for a payment of £500.⁶⁵ He then provided Edward Radcliffe with a £540 mortgage secured on the Threshfield

⁵⁷. WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/v/1.

⁵⁸. In common with others in the area, the mill site was used later for textile manufacture and for district electric lighting (H. Masterson, 'An Electrical Undertaking in Upper Wharfedale', *IAJ*, 71 (1999), pp. 237–49).

⁵⁹. WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/v/2.

⁶⁰. *Registers of Linton*, p. 70.

⁶¹. *Registers of Linton*, p. 78.

⁶². WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/v/3; WYAS, YAS, MD423/274.

⁶³. W. H. Dawson, *Cromwell's Understudy: the life and times of General John Lambert and the rise and fall of the Protectorate* (London, 1938); J. W. Morkill, *The Parish of Kirkby Malhamdale* (Gloucester, 1933).

⁶⁴. PRO, WARD 9/218.

⁶⁵. WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/v/5.

estate. Repayment with interest, if made by October 1655, would total £842. If Radcliffe defaulted, he would accept Lambert's offer of £958 to purchase the estate. The indenture of defeasance is dated 11 July 1649.⁶⁶ Lambert could not avoid applying to 'treat for the fee farm rents issuing out of the parish of Malhamdale, whereto I am immediate tenant' which had become available in 1650 by Act of Parliament. But his income from his military and political offices was several thousand pounds a year, and his strongly growing fortune now raised his property aspirations. His family was established in his father-in-law's London town house, Colhearne House in Earls Court, Kensington, where his twin sons, John and William, were baptised in September 1647.⁶⁷ He inherited that property on Sir William Lister's death in August 1649. In Scotland a fellow Yorkshireman, Cornet John Baynes, was managing the properties which a grateful Parliament had awarded Lambert.⁶⁸ Through John's cousin, Captain Adam Baynes, who made a market in confiscated land, Lambert in May 1652 bought the Queen's former mansion Wimbledon House, set in a 400-acre park, for £7000.⁶⁹

The appearance in late 1651, therefore, of Thomas Hammond, a wealthy Londoner seeking an estate in Craven, while seeming providential to the Radcliffes, would have been then of little consequence to the Lamberts. In November 1651, Hammond, described as Citizen and Stationer of London, signed an agreement with Edward Radcliffe, acting in conjunction with his mother Dorothy and with John Lambert. By this, Hammond agreed to pay Edward Radcliffe £1000 when the conveyance passed and £600 within the year, to secure tenure of the manor. An undiscovered indenture of bargain and sale of 18 November is mentioned in the corresponding release of 8 December 1651 between Hammond, still described as Citizen and Stationer, and Dorothy Radcliffe. The conveyance was completed by an indenture dated 31 December 1651 between Dorothy Radcliffe and Hammond, now described as 'of Kendal in Westmorland, gentleman'.⁷⁰ In all, Thomas bought about 280 acres of mainly meadow and pasture, and a further 200 acres of heath and moor. According to an exemplification of fine of 5 May 1652, Thomas settled to pay £240 to John and Frances Lambert and to Edward and Dorothy Radcliffe.⁷¹ Mathew Wilson paid Edward the full £1600 on 4 February 1651/2, charging Thomas £21 13s. 4d. commission for this service. He had already paid Mrs Frances Lambert £470 on Thomas's behalf in December 1651.

WILSON'S BUSINESS, HIS COLLEAGUES AND HIS HEIR

The extensive scale of the London-based cloth merchanting operation conducted by Mathew and his partner, Thomas Wilson, may be judged from the snapshot view of it given in the inventory of Mathew's property. This 'was taken, valewed and appraised 1656 by Edward Jackson George Bowcock and Thomas Hammond Clothiers and alsoe by Joseph Abraham Citizen and Grocer of London'. The level of stock in hand was substantial, some £500 worth. The range of transactions undertaken is reflected in the levels of

⁶⁶. WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/v/6; WYAS, YAS, MD423/276.

⁶⁷. T. Faulkner, *History and Antiquities of Kensington* (London, 1820), p. 35.

⁶⁸. Baynes was assisted to preferment by Lambert's influence. PRO, AO 1/303/1164, 'J. Baynes, Receiver General of the King's revenue in Scotland, and Paymaster to the English Troops there, 22 Mar 1659–15 May 1662', has a long list of payments made by him when in that office.

⁶⁹. W. A. Bartlett, *History and Antiquities of Wimbledon* (London, 1895, republished Wakefield, 1971), p. 48. It had been acquired by Queen Henrietta Maria in 1638. Both she and her royal husband took a keen interest in the gardens there. So too did Lambert, specialising in tulips and gillyflowers when Cromwell cashiered him. After the Restoration, when the Queen's palaces were returned to her, she considered Wimbledon 'smelt so strong of a rebel' that she sold it in June 1660.

⁷⁰. WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/v/7, 8, 9.

⁷¹. WYAS, YAS, MD423/279.

debt or credit recorded against those with whom the partners did business. At one end of the scale, there were just over one hundred clients of the partnership listed in the range of business debt of £100 or less; of these just over half lay in the range below £10. At the other end, there are five listed between £200 and £1345. The sixty-six clients whose debt was judged by the inventory valuers to be 'hopeful' (recoverable) owed some £2500. Surprisingly impressive was the sum of £3400 owed to Mathew which the inventory valuers were seemingly prepared to write off as 'desperate' (not recoverable). Some of these debts were very large, and some were of long standing. At the 'low value' end of the business, the valuers placed just under half the under-£100 debts in the 'desperate' category. This covered almost fifty debtors owing almost £1300. At the higher end, there were three debts apparently written off in the range £190–£240: Collison and Brigg owed £240, Thomas Talbot £200 and Edward Collison £188. Mathew seemed to have had less success with these debtors than he had with Sir Robert Bindloss, whose indebtedness stood at a mere 'desperate' debt of £40.

One of the largest 'hopeful' business debts recorded in the inventory, £1345, is listed against Thomas Booth. He and his brother Richard, both of London, featured in Mathew's will among his 'loving friends', and each received a memento of £10 from him, presumably in recognition of their happy business relationship. Mathew selected two close friends to oversee the execution of his will. One was his brother-in-law, Thomas Hammond. The other was evidently a business colleague, 'Edward Jackson of the parish of Saint Margaret in Lothbury in London, Clothier'. He seems to have been one of the Wilson partnership's main suppliers, presumably dealing mainly with Thomas Wilson since he is not mentioned in Mathew's Eshton records. The partners had an outstanding debt to him of £600 for stock, and Mathew left Edward Jackson and Thomas Hammond £40 each 'in regard to the care and pains to be taken by them' as overseers of his will. Other business colleagues mentioned in Mathew's will included the French (cloth) merchants Robert Collins and Richard Tomes, who each received a token memento of £5. Collins appeared in the 'hopeful' debtor's list at the substantial sum of £120. Another business friend, the mercer Thomas Frampton, a witness to Mathew's will, also had a £5 bequest.

The move to Eshton does not seem to have hindered Mathew's involvement in the partnership's business. From September 1647 to April 1651 he seems to have handled some £9000 of trade. Eshton's location would have been convenient for cloth producers in the northern counties, and Mathew spent time travelling in these areas, particularly back to his Westmorland homelands. He noted transactions with Jerimy Rossendall in the years 1647, 1648 and 1649 valued at £768, £591 and £902 respectively.⁷² In 1651 Mathew did substantial business (£3512) with five main clients: John Brooksbank at £1286, William Birkett of Kendal at £969, John Dyson at £514, James Robinson at £294, Jerimy Rossendall at £291, and John Ramsden at £158. In 1652 Mathew's dealings totalled £720. Jerimy Rossendall headed the list at £229, followed by John Ramsden (£190), John Dyson (£181), James Robinson (£81) and William Birkett (£39).

However, there is mention in Mathew's will of unfinished business with a former partner, Robert Charlton. Mathew was concerned that Charlton should yield up their indenture of copartnership and bond which he had withheld, apparently until a loan of £1000 was repaid with interest. Mathew held Charlton's receipts for most of the debt, and now offered £20 to bring the repayment up to the £1700 required. If this offer were not accepted, Mathew's executors were to withhold the £20 and 'Defend the Suit'. Mathew added wryly that the £1700 'is more than I ever made of his money'.

⁷² Rossendall used over a dozen agents in that period.

Mathew and Thomas Wilson found another advantage from living so far apart. They regularly acted like branches of a bank for their more important clients. Deposits with one could be redeemed from the other. This service seemed to be provided only for sums of £10 and above. Mr Richard Booth paid in £30 to Mathew to be charged on Thomas in London; Richard Lode drew £30 from Thomas, William Birkett of Kendal, Thomas Sharpe, and Thomas Walker drew £20, William Field £18 and Richard Walker £10. The partners also accepted deposits from one client to be paid to another. A Mr Dixon and the Walkers each deposited £20 for Richard Booth; William Birkett of Kendal deposited £20 with Mathew to be collected by Graeme Wood in London.

While Mathew continued actively in business at Eshton, he also lived as a country gentleman. He had received an annual rent of £150 from January 1648 for the farming land at Eshton from William Stow, but he may have taken over the farming management of this estate from about 1650. He recorded no rental income from William Stow after that date, and no rental income from anyone else at Eshton on the scale Stow had paid. Mathew's records also refer increasingly to the sale and purchase of farm produce, and to individual items of building repair and development of estate property. He also seems to have taken more to country interests — he spent 2s. having 'greyhounds brought out of Lancashire' in August 1653 and sold four oxen at Gisburn fair the following month. When he was in London in September 1654, he brought back additions to his domestic library. Two were practical, a book of cookery at 1s. 4d. and a book for 'my Gardiner 2s.' but also a 'book for myself 6d.'

On the other hand, as a successful merchant become landowner, Mathew took exception to the levy of tithes, which were paid, not to support the parish church and its incumbent, but to enrich the tithe impropiators. In June 1655 he suggested a solution to his neighbour, the Lord Lambert, who held a powerful position on Cromwell's Council. The parishioners would willingly, Mathew thought, repay the impropiator 'the whole money which appears by their Deedes disbursed at ye first purchase' in order to be freed from the 'great oppression' of tithes.⁷³ However, Mathew had no problem paying his vicar, Mr Waite, an Easter offering of 8s. in 1655, and in 1656 he added another 8s. to buy a calf from him! Mathew took advantage of his country gentleman status in other ways: in July 1655, he paid Mr Nickols, the undersheriff, 5s. 'to keep me of jury'. He also kept in contact with his roots. In 1655 and 1656 he spent 2s. 6d. on a ticket 'for our Westmorland feast', held apparently in late September, and seems to have taken part, at least in 1655.

Mathew had the good fortune to have a number of relatives nearby. From about April 1652 to December 1655 his relations with Thomas Hammond seem to have been very close. Thomas was referred to always as 'my brother Hamond' and, on an almost weekly basis, they lent each other money, they bought and sold farm animals and products together, and Mathew bought Thomas personal items — razors, hats, and even a coltsfoot remedy for bronchitis. During a visit to London in August and September 1654 Mathew spent time and money on several occasions 'going about my brother Hamond's business'. From then on, their exchanges were rather less frequent and it may be significant that Mathew started to refer to Thomas as 'Mr Thomas Hamond', or 'my brother, Mr Thomas Hamond'. On the other hand, after July 1652, when Mathew started to refer to 'my brother John Backhouse', Mathew's early dealings with John were entirely commercial, mainly the buying and selling of farm stock from each other. When on 4 June

⁷³ Morkill, *Kirkby Malhamdale*, p. 196. At the height of his power and influence during the Protectorate Lambert was a major-general of the army, colonel of two regiments, a member of the Council and a lord of the Cinque Ports (*DNB*).

1655 Mathew repaid 'my brother John Backhouse' the £50 which John had paid to Will Birkett in Kendal for Mathew's use there, he had borrowed the same amount on 7 May, subject to paying interest on the loan, from 'my brother Mr Tho: Hamond' presumably to enable him to do so. Occasional borrowing and repaying of small loans between Mathew and John began about April 1656, about the same time as Mathew noted he had paid 'my brother Mr Thomas Hamond £5 3s. in full of an account we have now set our hand to'. Perhaps it is also relevant that Mathew, on his last visit to London in the summer of 1656, spent freely buying gifts for John Preston and his sister, and for his own sister, Agnes, John Backhouse's wife, and their daughter, but bought nothing for Thomas. It may be, of course, that Thomas was spending more time in London himself.

Though it was Mathew who bought the Wilson family seat at Eshton, it was his godson, John Wilson, his heir, who became the patriarch of the Eshton Wilson dynasty. The main text of Whitaker's *Craven*, repeated elsewhere, records that Eshton was bought by John Wilson, not Mathew.⁷⁴ However, the chart facing this text reports, without citing sources, the more credible history that John 'suffered a recovery in February 1668, and that, during his minority, Captain Backhouse of Yellands and his wife, Agnes, Mathew Wilson's sister, resided at Eshton' before removing higher up the Dales to the manor of Netherhesleden which Mathew bequeathed to Agnes in his will. Mathew made his only recorded visit to Richmond in Surrey at the end of August 1656, where he may have visited young John Wilson who was living at board there and was then aged nine, if we accept Whitaker's authority for his birth in 1647. John was to inherit Mathew's estate within the year, since Mathew died in London and was buried in the church of Saint Mary Abchurch on 2 December 1656. The register entry accorded him the respectful title 'Mr', but added 'A Stranger' to identify a non-Londoner.⁷⁵ Mathew's choice of a godson as his heir is, at first sight, surprising. Through his sister, Ellen Fisher, he had at least one male nephew. His motive in selecting his godson John Wilson is expressed in the indenture he drew up with Thomas and Edward Jackson in February 1652/3 to implement his wishes. In part it was 'in consideration of the love and affection' he bore towards John. In part, reminiscent of Charles Radcliffe, it was to ensure that his estate would 'so continue and be in the name and blood of Wilson' after Mathew's death, 'for so long as it shall please God to continue the same'.⁷⁶ During John's minority, Thomas Hammond and Edward Jackson were to receive the income from Eshton and to use this for John's 'good education and maintenance' until he reached twenty-one. Among the witnesses to this indenture was Mathew's business partner, Thomas Wilson.

Thomas Hammond's choice of heir is perhaps even more surprising. Despite three marriages, he left no direct male heir.⁷⁷ In his will he provided for his wife, Sarah, for his servants and for some charitable gifts. He remembered his sister-in-law, Anne Watson, her daughter Anne, and James Watson, possibly a brother-in-law, together with James's six children. He included Mrs Margaret Preston, John's widow, and some in-laws. But for his executor and the inheritor of his Threshfield estate in 1685 he chose John Wilson of Eshton, Mathew's godson and heir. John would have been then 38, and he and his wife Dorothy had several children, including Mathew, their heir. When John died in

⁷⁴ Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 238; Langdale, *Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire* (London, 1822), p. 279.

⁷⁵ Guildhall Library, London, parish registers of St Mary Abchurch, MS 7666. However, Mathew still retained his rented accommodation in Coleman Street, London (*Yorkshire Probate Inventories*, p. 117).

⁷⁶ WYAS, YAS, MD335/21/88, indenture made 17 Feb. 1652/3 between Mathew Wilson of London, merchant, Thomas Hammond of Threshfield, gentleman, and Edward Jackson of the parish of St Margaret in Lothbury, London, clothier.

⁷⁷ 'An infant female of Mr Thomas Ham[m]ond of Threshfield' was buried 7 Mar. 1682/3 (*Registers of Linton*, p. 133), the only child of his recorded in Linton parish register. Thomas was buried 27 Mar. 1686 (*Registers of Linton*, p. 138).

1706, he was buried, as were his successors, in Eshton's parish church of St Andrew at Gargrave, leaving Thomas Hammond as the last Lord of Threshfield manor to be buried in Linton church.⁷⁸ The register recorded John as 'of Threshfield'; presumably he had retired there to leave Eshton as his son Mathew's accommodation.

Over his years at Eshton, John figured in various small land acquisitions extending his inheritance. In April 1679 he bought two garths and a barn in Eshton from Robert Wood and his mother, Anne Haigue of Knaresborough, for £5 10s.⁷⁹ In April 1681 George Brogden, 'a Linnen weaver', made over to John half an acre of land in Eshton containing 'all that messuage or fyrehouse wherein he dwells' together with his barn, stable, and workhouse for £25.⁸⁰ In December of that year, John secured additional grazing in Lower Burgh Close in Littondale from John Backhouse of Yelland, gentleman, seemingly part of the Backhouse Netherhesleden inheritance then tenanted by John Procter.⁸¹ In May 1691 John spent £43 buying several meadows adjoining his lands in Gargrave from George Smith and his widowed mother Elizabeth.⁸²

If John was not Mathew's own son, who were his parents? John left no will, where his parentage might have been indicated.⁸³ There was a John Wilson at Eshton in 1656, recorded in the probate inventory as owing Mathew 19s. 2d. — hardly likely to be Mathew's godson who would then have been aged nine. A more likely Eshton 'John Wilson' is 'the farryer John Wilson' who was recorded there in 1653. It is tempting to see the godson John as a son of Mathew's partner, Thomas; there is an entry for 30 December 1647 for the baptism of a son John to Thomas and Anne Wilson in the parish register of St Mary Abchurch in London, where Mathew was buried, but the question remains open here.

The Eshton section of Mathew Wilson's probate inventory has a fittingly touching post-script following Mathew's death in London in the winter of 1656 — an item of £12 17s. 10d., being the 'charges of John Preston, one of the executors, and of Richard Knowles [Mathew's servant Dick] who came from London for him, rideing post to London, stayinge to performe the funerall and return'.

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⁷⁸ Lord of Threshfield manor since purchase for \$17,000 in 1996 is Ohio businessman Doug Hall, who conferred 'Knighthoods' of Threshfield on company executives who contributed to his 1999 expedition to the North Pole (<http://www.expeditionnews.com/Archives/EN9901.html>).

⁷⁹ WYAS, YAS, MD335/24/471.

⁸⁰ WYAS, YAS, MD335/24/506.

⁸¹ WYAS, YAS, MD335/21/87. The land is described as lately the lands of Sir Robert Bindloss, Bt., and sometime the inheritance of the late Earl of Cumberland.

⁸² WYAS, Bradford, 68D82/6/6/k/76.

⁸³ Borthwick Institute, York, Craven Decanery Act Book, Administration of John Wilson of Threshfield 15 May 1706. John's elder son Mathew probably disposed of the will to avoid sharing the estate with his apparently feckless brother Francis. Skipton Library, Raistrick MS 263.

THE JACOBITES OF YORKSHIRE

By Jonathan Oates

Jacobitism and the Jacobite rebellions tend to be studied at a national level. As Professor Black points out: 'We know all too little about the local and regional dimension of eighteenth century politics'.¹ Both Monod's national survey in *Jacobitism and the English People*, and Gooch's study of the Northumbrian dimension in *The Desperate Faction?* have demonstrated that Jacobitism in England was not an unimportant political and social phenomenon.² As Yorkshire was England's greatest county, it would seem worth examining those within its borders who were sympathetic towards Jacobitism. However, it is worth stressing at the outset that during both the Fifteen and, more especially, the Forty-Five, there were many who were willing to make their hostility to the rebellions known and were active in the defence of King George, and this was particularly the case in Yorkshire.

According to Gooch, in the first sentence of the preface to *The Desperate Faction?*, 'People have said the most preposterous things about Jacobitism'.³ That comment is as true for Yorkshire as it is for Northumberland. Some histories, such as the rather outdated *Victoria County History*, state that Jacobitism in the county was almost non-existent, especially during the Fifteen (judging by the lack of open rebellion in the county), whereas others, notably Eardley Simpson, make the most extravagant claims of the strength of Yorkshire Jacobitism (backed up by the evidence of optimistic Jacobites, not reality).⁴ Others express their inability to make an assessment, as does Black: 'it is unclear what the attitude of the county [Yorkshire] to Jacobitism was'.⁵ These comments have been made, apparently, without any examination of the facts to be found in archives, both national and local, and in the contemporary press or printed histories. The purpose of this article is to examine Jacobitism, both imagined and real, in its various forms, as it manifested itself in Yorkshire during the two principal rebellions aimed at restoring the Stuart monarchy.

Although the definition of a Jacobite is one who is a supporter of James II, his son, James Francis, or his grandson, Charles Edward, to be involved in Jacobitism did not necessarily mean active and armed participation in attempts to restore the Stuart monarchy (which would have been high treason, for which the penalty was death). Jacobites could demonstrate their support for the former dynasty or their repugnance at the Hanoverian/Whig status quo in other ways.

There were various strands of Jacobitism which stand out, but before examining what actually occurred it is necessary to examine the perceptions of the Whigs, some of whom identified their political opponents as Jacobites, not necessarily erroneously. There are, perhaps, three categories of Jacobitism which can be identified, varying in their militancy.

¹ J. Black, 'Eighteenth Century English Political History', *The Local Historian*, 23.2 (1993), p. 103.

² P. K. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People* (Cambridge, 1989); L. P. Gooch, *The Desperate Faction? The Jacobites of North East England, 1688-1745* (Hull, 1995).

³ Gooch, p. xi.

⁴ *Victoria County History, Yorkshire*, III, ed. W. Page (1912), p. 431; L. Eardley Simpson, *Derby and the Forty-Five* (London, 1933), pp. 84-85.

⁵ J. Black, 'Whig Propaganda in the Early Eighteenth Century: A Yorkshire Example', *York Historian*, 7 (1986), p. 41.

Firstly, there were those few who were absolutely committed to the cause of Jacobitism and, in their willingness to fight for it, enlisted with the rebels. Secondly, there were those who made their faith known in public by uttering seditious words, either by shouting collectively in a crowd or individually, often in the form of drinking a health to the Pretender. Finally, there were the handful who were more discreet and whose actions did not come under the cognisance of the law. They included those who sympathised in private by collecting Stuart memorabilia for instance. It also should be remembered that popular Jacobitism was 'a malleable script', as Nicholas Rogers notes, and demonstrations of apparent Jacobitism could merely be using the language of sedition as an idiom of protest or mockery of the establishment, rather than from a desire to overthrow it.⁶ Yet some of the Yorkshire Jacobites do seem to have been genuine adherents to the cause of Jacobitism, especially those who acted alone in joining the rebels or uttering seditious words outside that protection offered by a crowd.

The principal difficulty in discussing Jacobitism is how to identify the Jacobites. As Eveline Cruickshanks, who argues that the Tory party in England after 1714 was a Jacobite party, has pointed out, it is not in the nature of an underground organisation to leave evidence which can be used to convict them of high treason.⁷ This is certainly valid. But if surviving evidence is lacking, it cannot be assumed that there were numerous Jacobites who kept their allegiance hidden. Practical activity in England to restore the Stuarts was minimal, even compared to the conspirators of 1688, who certainly did not represent a majority of the political elite, or those who followed Monmouth in 1685. As far as it can be discerned, Jacobitism was a political creed that, for the most part, had a small following, at least in England, even (or especially) when it appeared that their ostensible goal, a Stuart restoration, was a possibility, as in 1715 and 1745.

While this article is concerned with the Jacobites themselves, it should not be forgotten that, especially in 1745, there was a great deal of support for the Hanoverian dynasty and against the rebellion. This was not only from the official organisations such as the Church, Quarter Sessions, the corporations and the parishes, but also from all layers of society, usually taking their lead from the Lords Lieutenant. Compared to those enrolled in volunteer movements against the rebellion, those Jacobites listed below are very much in the minority. (There were over 2000 men enrolled in the Yorkshire Association, and hundreds of others in independent and corporation volunteers, to take one manifestation of Hanoverianism.) Such loyalism in Yorkshire has received a number of studies.⁸ Yet it is worth noting that those opposing the government, in deeds or words, were taking a big risk, unlike those enrolling in the volunteers.

During both rebellions, but more especially before and after the 1715 rebellion, Tory corporations were suspected by their Whig opponents of being tainted with Jacobitism, and using local mobs to further their cause. Leeds Whigs accused the Tory members of the corporation (especially the mayor of Leeds, Solomon Pollard) of not properly investigating a Jacobite disturbance on that key date in the political calendar, 10 June, the Pretender's birthday. Such disturbances were widespread nationally. An edition of *The Flying Post* made additional accusations. Alderman William Cookson (1669–1743), suspected of directing the mob and concerting with the Jacobite Sir William Wyndham,

⁶ N. Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics in Georgian Britain* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 22–57. The description of Jacobitism as a 'malleable script' occurs in D. Hay and N. Rogers, *Eighteenth-Century English Society: Shuttles and Swords* (Oxford, 1996), p. 66.

⁷ E. Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables: The Tories and the 45* (London, 1979).

⁸ C. Collyer, 'Yorkshire and the Forty Five', *147*, 38 (1952–55), pp. 71–95; D. B. Bagnall, 'York and Yorkshire's military reaction to the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745', unpublished MA thesis, University of York, 1998; J. Oates, 'Independent Volunteer Forces in Yorkshire during the Forty-Five', *147*, 73 (2001), pp. 121–31.

MP, was taken by King's Messengers to Newgate, where he stayed for several months.⁹ It is difficult to know the truth of the matter, and it appears that no one was officially charged. The Whigs also claimed that the corporation 'set on their Tools, the Rabble, to affront the Earl and Lord Irwin', when Lords Burlington and Irwin, two of Yorkshire's Lord Lieutenants, and their men were travelling on their way to assist the military at Preston in November.¹⁰ Further accusations that the corporation was Jacobite in sympathy persisted. In 1719 an anonymous writer claimed that 'ye Jacobite party is very strong here' and four years later the Leeds mayor, Edmund Barker, commented: 'The wicked inhabitants of Leeds still persist in their abominable opinions and base principles'.¹¹ However, we should bear in mind that the corporation went out of its way to celebrate the first anniversary of George I's accession on 1 August 1715.¹²

Sir William Lowther (c. 1665–1729), a Pontefract MP, made similar reports about the corporation of Pontefract after the defeat of the Fifteen. He claimed that two aldermen were 'violent Jacobites' and had spoken seditious words during the rebellion before absconding. He also claimed that there were daily meetings at Mr Turner's public house, in order to choose a new alderman who would oppose Lowther.¹³ There is evidence that he wished to change the corporation's charter, according to his enemies, and to brand his opponents as Jacobites in his fight to do so.¹⁴

Whigs also suspected that the Jacobites were strong in York. According to one T[homas?] Barlow of Middlethorpe, writing on 11 March 1719, 'York of late is become a great Rendevous for all ye chief of the papists and Jacobite disaffected Party who now swarme here to ye degree and are so uppish'. He thought that such open behaviour was due to rumours of the intended Spanish invasion in favour of the Jacobites (which was to be known as the Nineteen, a short-lived affair). He added that it was said that clergymen were present when seditious healths were drunk at a certain club in the city.¹⁵ Clearly Jacobite activity in York was certainly not unknown.

Although the next two decades were calmer, the descent of the Young Pretender on Britain transformed the situation. On the eve of the Forty-Five and for the first few weeks of the rebellion, fears were voiced about local sympathies for the rebels. Viscount Irwin (1691–1761), Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding, was particularly nervous. He told Newcastle that 'I own that whatever professions they make, I have my fears that they don't mean us well. For their underlings talk very impudently and if I am informed right, the Papists, those particularly in York had rejoicing in ye private houses upon ye unfortunate affair of Cope'.¹⁶ If Irwin was concerned about various Catholic gentlemen, such as Stephen Tempest (d. 1771) of Broughton, near Skipton, and Viscount Charles Fairfax of Gilling (and others suspected Roger Strickland of Richmond), the Jacobite agents were indeed counting on the support of several county magnates.

In the years immediately before the rebellion Jacobite agents, such as the Duke of Perth and James Butler, master of horse to Louis XV, made excursions into England in order to gauge support for Jacobitism. The list made by Butler in 1743 of those English Jacobites included eight Yorkshire gentry, mostly opposition Whigs or Tories. None assisted the Pretender in 1745. In fact, they were all to be found in the loyalist camp, at

⁹ *The Flying Post*, 3660 (18–21 June 1715), 3719 (12–14 Jan. 1716); Leeds City Libraries, Local and Family History Library, diary of John Lucas, p. 51.

¹⁰ *The Flying Post*, 3719 (12–14 Jan. 1716).

¹¹ Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), State Papers, SP 35/8, fol. 108^r, SP 35/44, fol. 57^r.

¹² Diary of John Lucas, p. 33.

¹³ PRO, SP 35/9, fols 173^r, 400^r.

¹⁴ PRO, SP 35/9, fol. 470^v.

¹⁵ PRO, SP 35/15, fol. 185^r.

¹⁶ PRO, SP 36/71, fol. 31^r.

least in public. These men are listed in the appendix.¹⁷ Three of them, George Fox of Bramham, MP, Henry Howard, Earl of Carlisle, and William Aislaby of Studley Grange, MP, were present at the private meeting on 23 September to discuss resolutions to put forward to the loyalist meeting at Bishopsthorpe on the following day.¹⁸ These three and another of the eight, Sir Miles Stapylton (c. 1708–52), baronet and MP, paid subscriptions of £100 or more each to the Association thus founded.¹⁹ Stapylton was a member of the Special Commission formed to try the rebel prisoners at York in 1746.²⁰ Such was the reality of those men thought sympathetic to Jacobitism.

John Murray of Broughton, secretary to Charles Stuart, claimed that the Duke of Perth told him that there were many Jacobites in York. Perth said ‘he had spoken with several people in that City and neighbourhood, who professed a strong attachment to the Royal Family; and that the Magistracy were so well inclined as to propose sending over the Freedom of the City in a gold box to the Duke of York’. He also claimed that the corporation promised to raise 10,000 men to support the Pretender once his arrival was known. Quite how these men were to be armed is unknown — the Lieutenancy had trouble arming 2000 men, and only then with the help of arms from the Tower.²¹ In public, the corporation sent a loyal address to King George in each of the years 1744, 1745 and 1746. They also sent away the corporation valuables lest the rebels seize them, and raised volunteers against the rebels. There was controversy over its zeal for the government, but even its bitterest critics did not think it was Jacobite.²² The nearest that the corporation came to sympathising with Jacobitism was in 1747, at the annual feast. According to the Archbishop of York, Thomas Herring, ‘There are some foolish riotous healths drank, in a corporation feast, wch may not come so easily under ye cognisance of the law’. The corporation nevertheless mounted an investigation, though to little avail.²³ Such hopes (and the failure of reality to live up to them) were reminiscent of the assurances of the Jacobite soldier the Duke of Berwick that many thousands would flock to the Pretender in 1715.²⁴ Paradoxically, both Whigs and Jacobites thought that many in Yorkshire were Jacobite.

Jacobite observers may have been reading too much into anti-Whig demonstrations and have thought that they were also pro-Jacobite. Yorkshire had a large and relatively independent electorate and many of it was Tory and Country Whig, opposed to the Court candidates. The 1734 election had been hotly disputed; the Court candidates and their backers did not concede defeat until 1736. The 1741 election was also bitterly contested between the opposing factions. The county newspaper, *The York Courant*, was Tory. A Holmfirth apothecary and dissenter, Arthur Jessop (1682–1751), recorded in his diary for 14 February 1742 that there were ‘very great rejoicings’ at the news that Walpole was no longer First Lord of the Treasury. Apparently the local ‘Tories are desperately insolent and are making Bonfires on every side and burning him [Walpole] in effigy’.²⁵

17. Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, pp. 137–38.

18. British Library (hereafter BL), Add. MSS, 35598, fols 66r–67r.

19. Anon., *An Exact List of the Voluntary Subscribers* (York, 1747).

20. *The York Journal*, 40 (26 Aug. 1746).

21. ‘Memorials of John Murray of Broughton 1740–1747’, ed. R. F. Bell, *Scottish History Society*, 27 (1898), p. 41; ‘Origins of the Forty Five’, ed. W. B. Laikie, *Scottish History Society*, 2nd series, 2 (1916), p. 36.

22. York City Archives, House Book, 43, pp. 132, 184, 199.

23. BL, Add. MSS 35598, fol. 236r; *The York Journal*, 70 (24 Mar. 1747).

24. C. T. Wilson, *The Duke of Berwick* (London, 1883), p. 373.

25. C. Collyer, ‘The Yorkshire Election of 1734’, *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 7.1 (1952), pp. 53–82; *Two Yorkshire Diaries*, ed. C. E. Whiting, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 117 (1951), p. 70.

However, all this behaviour was not to translate itself into enthusiastic Jacobitism three and a half years later.

What Jacobitism there was in York in 1745 was manifested not by any members of the Corporation or by the mob, but by a handful of local Tories, if we are to believe Whig suspicions. Those under suspicion were several prominent citizens of York: Thomas Selby, Dr Francis Drake (1696–1771), surgeon and historian, Caesar Ward, editor of the Tory *York Courant*, and, most importantly, Dr John Burton (1710–71), Tory physician and antiquarian. Selby was Catholic and suspected of having fired upon one of the York corporation volunteers in December. Drake refused to subscribe to the Oaths of Allegiance, as he was a Non-Juror, and was rumoured to have attacked a prominent Whig in print, as well as having declared that Cumberland's victory at Culloden was bad news. Ward was a printer and was attacked for allegedly printing anti-Whig comments. Burton was thought to have been the worst of all. He had journeyed to his estate in Hornby in November, apparently to collect his rents, but was later seen in the company of the rebels, who did not disarm him or take his horse. He was to spend fifteen months in gaol before being released for lack of evidence. Many of the accusations against these men came from a hard core of Whigs, namely Dr Jacques Sterne (1696–1759), JP and Precentor of York Minster, and Sir Rowland Winn (d. 1765), baronet, of Nostell Priory. Both these men had been political opponents of Burton since the hotly disputed Yorkshire election of 1734, so clearly had axes to grind, yet Sir Dudley Ryder, attorney general, did not. And he concluded that Burton was probably guilty. On 15 July 1747 he wrote: 'There is insufficient evidence to prove the said Dr Burton Guilty of High Treason, tho there is great Reason to suspect that he really was guilty thereof'.²⁶

These suspicions may not have all been due to political opportunism. The decade following the Hanoverian Succession was the high point of Jacobite riots and conspiracies throughout the country, and fears of Jacobites were probably, therefore, not all unrealistic. Opposition to Walpole may have been equated by some Whigs with Jacobitism, thus ensuring that suspicion remained high in some quarters.²⁷ It appears that the Whigs feared that there were sinister Jacobite corporation members behind the mobs, stirring them up against their Whig enemies, as part of some conspiracy. Jacobites, too, thought that Yorkshire was sympathetic to their cause. The Jacobite Marquis of Wharton wrote to Mar on 25 September 1715: 'I am sure that the county of Buckinghamshire will universally follow me, besides my sway in Westmorland and Wiltshire and part of Yorkshire'.²⁸

Active involvement in the rebellion was an offence punishable by death or the loss of lands and titles. It could not be taken lightly. Unlike Scotland, very few in England ever joined the rebels. During the Fifteen the government certainly thought that four prominent Yorkshiremen were Jacobites, and had orders for the King's Messengers to arrest them. These four men were Sir Marmaduke Constable of Everingham, William Constable, Viscount Dunbar of Burton, Sir William Tunstall of Wycliffe in the North Riding and Lord Clifton. By early October, the first two had been placed in custody at Hull, but Tunstall joined the rising in Northumberland led by Thomas Forster, MP (c. 1675–1738). Tunstall was, according to Revd Robert Patten, an early historian of the Rising, 'a Yorkshire Man, born to a plentiful fortune', and became Paymaster General and Quarter Master General for the rebels. Another active Yorkshire rebel was Walter

²⁶ PRO, SP 36/75, fols 152^r–153^v, SP 36/78, fol. 33^r, SP 36/84, fol. 105^r, SP 36/89, fol. 9^r, SP 36/99, fol. 73^r, ASSI 44/62; York City Archives, F18, fol. 176.

²⁷ M. G. H. Pittock, *Jacobitism* (Aberdeen, 1998), p. 37.

²⁸ Historical Manuscripts Commission, 56, *Stuart MSS*, II (1904), p. 471.

Tancred of Brampton and Aldborough. Both men were Catholics.²⁹ They are the only known active Yorkshire rebels and were probably well motivated and militant to take such steps. It is not known whether there were any plebeian rebels from Yorkshire. None are listed among the prisoners taken at Preston, but this is not to say that they did not take the opportunity to escape before the surrender occurred on 14 November. Certainly the West Riding Quarter Sessions ordered its officials to be vigilant for any escapees from Preston, though this may be a concern about Northumberland rebels travelling through Yorkshire, rather than any native rebels.³⁰

Another prominent Yorkshireman whom some historians have thought might have been a Jacobite was the Earl of Burlington, Robert Boyle (1695–1753). This is on account of his cultural interests, and because he may have met Jacobites during his visits to the Continent and possibly lent them money. In 1733 he had certainly opposed Walpole over the Excise Bill and subsequently was stripped of his lieutenancy.³¹ All this seems very meagre evidence. What these historians seem to have overlooked is his known behaviour when the time for action occurred, namely during the Fifteen and the Forty-Five. As newly appointed Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, Burlington had responsibility for civil defence during the Rising. Instead of helping the rebels in England or simply doing nothing, Burlington raised the militia and other volunteer forces which gathered near Leeds prior to marching to Preston in November 1715. He also contributed to the loyalist addresses and helped gaol suspects. In 1745 he contributed £200 to the county Association, the same sum as the fiercely Whig Archbishop of York, Thomas Herring.³² If Burlington did harbor secret Jacobite sympathies, he appears to have done nothing to further them and acted in quite a contrary manner. If such behaviour characterised English Jacobitism, it is little wonder that it constituted the weak force it was.

Nationally the Forty-Five attracted far fewer Englishmen than did the Fifteen, but five Yorkshiremen are known to have taken part in the Forty-Five, as against two in the Fifteen. This could be because of the greater volume of records created in the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion, though it is also possible that there were other men from Yorkshire who joined the Fifteen, but who escaped the debacle of Preston and do not therefore appear in the records. Five rebels from Yorkshire were captured in armed rebellion in 1745–46. It is uncertain which units these men were employed in and they were from various parts of the county, including Bradford and York. They do not seem to have been of the poorest. Among them were a napkin maker, a tallow chandler and a hardwareman.³³ Andrew Blood, who became a captain in the Manchester Regiment, was of a higher social class and was described as ‘of a respectable family in Yorkshire . . . and steward to a gentleman there’.³⁴ Blood, or Blyde, had been employed by the Catholic Henry Francis, Lord Widdrington of Northumberland (1701–74), who complained to George Bowes, MP, commander of the Durham Horse Volunteers, about ‘Blyde’s strange and unaccountable flight’. Widdrington said that Blyde was melancholy and dour, and was owed wages. However, since Blyde had been taking messages between Bowes and Widdrington, possibly he was able to give his fellow Jacobites intelligence garnered from the contents of these messages, especially if it contained information about troop move-

²⁹ PRO, SP 44/117, p. 257; West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Temple Newsam MSS, TN/PO2/2C/17; Robert Patten, *History of the Rebellion* (London, 1717), pp. 131, 133.

³⁰ PRO, KB 8/66; WYAS, Wakefield, QS10/13 p. 110a.

³¹ E. Coup, *Lord Burlington: The Man and His Politics* (London, 1998), pp. 1–4.

³² Diary of John Lucas, p. 33; *The London Gazette*, 5366 (20–24 Sept. 1715); HMC, 55, *Various Collections*, II, p. 410; *An Exact List of the Voluntary Subscribers*, p. 7.

³³ PRO, SP 36/79, fols 37^v, 38^v, SP 36/81, fol. 314^v, SP 36/84, fol. 84^v; B. G. Seton and J. G. Arnot, ‘Prisoners of the ’45’, *Scottish History Society*, 3rd series, 15, 3 vols (1928–29), III, pp. 204–05.

³⁴ *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 16 (1746), p. 339.

ments.³⁵ Blyde stated his Jacobite faith before his execution in 1746. He claimed that he was a loyal subject to the lawful King of Britain, 'my Sovereign KING JAMES THE THIRD'. He also attacked the Hanoverians — 'German Councils now prevail and this poor *Island* bleeds for the sake of A LITTLE PALTRY, INSIGNIFICANT TERRITORY' — and urged his audience to serve the Pretender.³⁶ Ironically, both Bowes and Widdrington had been included by Butler in his list of English Jacobites.³⁷

These men seem to have joined the rebels of their own volition, unlike many of those in Northumberland in 1715 who may have been made to join by their masters and landlords. Their exact motives are difficult to fathom and may have ranged from staunch Jacobite sympathies to discontent at their present lot or a sense of adventure. They were clearly independently minded, and not influenced by their peers, as some in Manchester may have been. They were also a tiny and disparate group and none seems to have had any connection with any of the others: no concerted Jacobite conspiracy existed, therefore. This was not apparent to contemporaries. John Banks of Wakefield, writing on 30 September, commented: 'men are stealing towards the north by two or three together . . . to joyn the Pretender'.³⁸ It would appear that Banks was exaggerating or alarmist. He was most certainly incorrect. Those Yorkshiremen who joined the rebels were only the barest handful, a truly insignificant number.

Not all who went to join the rebellion were successful. The constable of Skipton stopped two labourers, one named Richard Wright, who were setting out to enlist with the Pretender and were en route to Kendal. Wright was sent to York Castle.³⁹ It has sometimes been asserted that more would have joined the rebels if they had not been intimidated by the local force. Irwin noted that, with Wade's army gathering at Doncaster in October, 'I imagine the troops now getting together at Doncaster will make them more cautious in yr doings than ye terror of ye laws'.⁴⁰ Yet Wade's forces were encamped around Newcastle for most of November and when they did march in pursuit of the rebel army were not particularly speedy. In any case, there were sixteen Jacobite recruits from Northumberland and Durham, compared to the five from Yorkshire.⁴¹ Apart from the vigilance of the constables and the volunteer infantry forces, there was little to stop anyone determined enough to join the rebel army as it marched through Lancashire.

As said, active support in England for Jacobitism was low in 1745, and most of it came from Lancashire, in particular Manchester. This number did not amount to many more than about two hundred. These men could join the rebels very easily, since there was no one to bar their doing so. It should also be noted that Lancashire was traditionally a strong Catholic stronghold, though given the apparent success of the rebellion at first, some opportunists may have joined, scenting victory already. In any case, the rebels themselves expected far more recruits in Lancashire than those who appeared. Support from other English counties was even more derisory, even at the apogee of their success.⁴²

Less militant Jacobites were those who apparently expressed their creed in public. In 1714–16, unlike in 1745, this often took the form of mass action. At Leeds on 10 June, the Pretender's birthday, there was ringing of the parish bells and a bonfire was erected on the streets. Around the fire, the crowd shouted 'James III' and 'No King George but

³⁵. Durham Dean and Chapter Library, Sharp MSS, 150, p. 34.

³⁶. Anon., *True Copies of the dying declarations of . . .* (Edinburgh, 1750), pp. 37–38.

³⁷. Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, pp. 127, 132.

³⁸. PRO, SP 36/69, fol. 245^r.

³⁹. PRO, SP 36/89, fol. 187^r.

⁴⁰. PRO, SP 36/71, fol. 31^r.

⁴¹. PRO, SP 36/79, fols 35^r–38^r, SP 36/81, fols 313^r–314^r, SP 36/84, fols 8^v, 11^r, SP 36/86, fol. 15^r, SP 36/91, fol. 55^r.

⁴². Seton and Arnot, 'Prisoners of the '45', II, III.

a Stuart'.⁴³ Similar disturbances occurred at York. There was an order passed by the corporation about an unspecified Coronation Day riot in 1714, and in 1716 there was a demonstration against celebrations of the defeat of the rebellion on 9 June. Although there is little evidence about the former, there is an eye witness account of the latter. Mrs Robinson of Newby Hall told her son, Tom: 'I am ashamed and sorry to let you know we have had an unexpected disturbance. Twas a shady mob who brought out a drest up figure writ upon ye brim of ye hat prisbiterian Covenant, said to be Dr Cowton they shouted High Church.' Yet such danger, if danger it was, was easily dispersed by the militia and loyal gentlemen. This contrasts with the situation in 1688, when the militia had joined with those opposed to James II.⁴⁴ Of lesser note, in Sheffield in July 1715 a crowd of men and boys roamed the streets at night-time, crying 'Down with the Rump', comparing the current Hanoverian regime with that of Cromwell's.⁴⁵ Similarly, after the rebellion was over, Lowther's opponents raised a mob who cried 'down with the rump, away with the Whiggs'.⁴⁶

Certainly the language employed, equating the Whigs with Cromwellian republicanism, military rule and fanatical dissent, could not fail to worry Whigs and their Dissenting allies. But whether this was necessarily a sign of Jacobitism is unclear. True, many of the ingredients of the Jacobite script were employed. Anti-Hanoverian and pro-Jacobite sentiments were in evidence, though none of the props, such as oak leaves and oak boughs (symbolic both of the Restoration of Charles II and of the hoped-for future Stuart Restoration) or effigies or turnips to represent George I, appear to have been used. Whether the crowds were directed or influenced from above is difficult to know — there is no direct proof that they were, despite Whig suspicions. In any case, they were unlikely to have been mere stooges.

What is beyond doubt is that none of these 'Jacobites' was willing to join the rebel armies at the time when a Jacobite restoration was a possibility. Rogers has suggested that such activity as outlined above may have been due to a public wish to mock authority, and that Jacobitism was a convenient idiom in which to express such feelings. Jacobitism was a malleable script and could be used to express social and economic discontent, as it was later in a keel-men's strike in Northumberland in 1750 or during anti-militia riots in 1757. Certainly, in the post-Utrecht world of 1715, there may have been concerns about post-war economic dislocation and unemployment, or fears about changes in the law in favour of Dissent. Significantly, there was no 'Jacobite' rioting in Yorkshire after the first few years of George I's reign, and very little elsewhere, suggesting that these riots were very much restricted to the years after the beginning of the Hanoverian Succession. Public demonstrations were a form of street theatre, in which the lower orders were the actors, and this fact alone may have caused concern among Whigs who were their social betters. These demonstrations were anti-Whig and anti-Hanoverian or in other words anti-authority. They were not necessarily pro-Jacobite.⁴⁷

However, perhaps rather more committed were those accused of seditious words, whether written or verbal, and brought before the Assizes or Quarter Sessions. Again, there is a little more evidence of Jacobite activity in Yorkshire in 1745 (thirty-three cases) than in 1715 (thirty-two), though once more the Assize records for the earlier

⁴³. *The Flying Post*, 3719 (12–14 Jan. 1716).

⁴⁴. York City Archives, F12a, p. 18; WYAS, Leeds, Vyner MSS 6006/13229; *Memoirs of Sir John Reresby*, ed. A. Browning (Glasgow, 1936), pp. 528–31.

⁴⁵. *The Flying Post*, 3672 (16–19 July 1715).

⁴⁶. PRO, SP 36/9, fol. 400^r.

⁴⁷. Rogers, *Crowds, Culture and Politics*, pp. 22–57; PRO, SP 36/112, fols 331^r–332^v; A. Hayter, *The Army and the Crowd in mid Georgian England* (London, 1978), pp. 38, 56, 81, 103.

period are far from complete, unlike those for 1745–46. In 1716 only one man is known to have appeared before the Assizes, one Thomas Fish, who cursed King George, claiming that he would ruin the nation by increasing its debts, and hoped to see him sent packing.⁴⁸ Quarter Sessions records appear to be more complete. A further fourteen men were brought before the magistrates for having spoken seditious words in 1715–16. Of these, four came from the East Riding with another five from the West Riding and five from the North Riding. In contrast to the mobs mentioned earlier, these men were explicitly anti-Hanoverian and pro-Jacobite. Four cursed King George, and another the Duke of Marlborough, who was seen by some as a warmonger. One drank the health of the Earl of Mar. Four refused to drink the health of King George. One wrote a seditious paper. We do not know the professions of all of these men, except that one was a labourer and another a yeoman. A further fifteen men were gaoled in York Castle for 'disaffection'. Of these, seven were yeomen and one was a labourer.⁴⁹ There were fewer recorded incidences of Jacobitism in the Fifteen than in the Forty-Five, though it is probable that the lack of surviving records at Assize and State Papers level accounts for this apparent low number. Furthermore, many may have expressed their Jacobitism collectively, rather than individually, as noted above.

In 1745–46, thirty-three people were either accused of seditious language or were gaoled on charges of suspicious or seditious behaviour. Of these, nineteen were arraigned because they had spoken seditious words in a public place in earshot of a loyalist, often (perhaps not surprisingly) in a public house or in the streets. Of these, five drank the Pretender's health, one cursed the Duke of Cumberland and five cursed King George. Other words were unspecified. The other fourteen offences included being in correspondence with the rebels, trying to enlist, spying, abusing the watch, or intimidating the volunteers. (The last was James Nisbett, publican of the aptly named *The Thistle and Crown* in Rotherham.) There were two doctors, a sugar boiler, a publican, a yeoman, a hatter and two labourers. This seems to have been a fairly representative cross-section of society, of the middling people and the lower orders. It also suggests a degree of political sophistication not always associated with this so-called age of oligarchy. Again, as with those men who enlisted with the rebels, these men were disparate individuals, not a united force opposed to the government. They were also widely scattered throughout the county: Wakefield, Rotherham, Sheffield, Broughton, Leeds, Hornsea and Coniston.⁵⁰ The fate of these people was to be gaoled for a time, though all, except Dr Burton, seem to have been released, some conditionally, by the end of 1746.⁵¹

These figures listed above do not take into account the numerous Catholics and others gaoled for non-specified offences in 1715 and 1745. In 1715 Ripon Gaol held eighteen men, York Gaol thirty-five Catholics, one Non-Juror and six others. In 1745–46, York Castle held nine priests. These men were probably gaoled because of their refusal to swear the oaths of allegiance as required by statute, though it is possible that some may have been involved in seditious behaviour. One priest, John Rivett of Ugthorpe, was certainly accused of being involved in a seditious correspondence, but there is no evidence as to the others.⁵²

⁴⁸. PRO, ASSI 45/18/1.

⁴⁹. North Yorkshire County Record Office (hereafter NYCRO), QSM, p. 241, QSB 11 Sept. 1715, 9 Nov. 1715, 1 May 1716; WYAS, Wakefield, QS1/55/1, 4; East Riding of Yorkshire Archives Service (hereafter ERYAS), QSV1/2a, fol. 48^r, QSF33/D4; PRO, SP 44/116, pp. 24, 249; WYAS, Leeds, NP1514/9.

⁵⁰. PRO, SP 36/81, fol. 95^v, SP 36/93, fol. 304^r, ASSI 45/23/2, ASSI 41/3, ASSI 44/61; ERYAS, QSF150/D1, QSF151/C10, QSF153/C3, QSF153/B4; NYCRO, QSB 1745; WYAS, Leeds, LC/QS1/7, pp. 339, 349, 350; Seton and Arnot, 'Prisoners of the '45', III, pp. 298–99.

⁵¹. PRO, SP 36/93, fol. 304^r, ASSI 41/3.

⁵². WYAS, Leeds, NP1514/9; PRO, PC 2/85, pp. 365, 404, 413, 434, SP 36/93, fols 304^r–305^v.

One of the final manifestations of Jacobitism in Yorkshire came on 9 October, the day of the celebration of the defeat of the rebellion, and the day after sentence had been passed on the seventy-five rebels tried at York for levying war against King George. There were seventy death sentences (though only twenty-two were carried out). Unlike thirty years before, no one was willing to appear in the streets to demonstrate allegiance to the Stuart cause, indicative of either faint-heartedness or popular hostility towards the rebellion, probably the latter. (There were militia in York in 1716 and there may have been some troops in York in 1746 to guard the prisoners housed there.) As *The York Journal* observed, the celebrations were held 'without the least disorder'. Yet 'an impious affront had been offered . . . a direct and daring Insult upon the Government'. This took the form of messages dropped around York Minster, where the Dean had preached a loyal sermon to a crowded congregation. The message read:

What mean these vile and idle pranks
To murder men and then give thanks
Stop Preacher, and go no further
God ne'er accepts thanks for murder.⁵³

Although there was a hint that Drake was a suspect — 'I take [this] to have been composed by some envenom'd stomach of a Duck or a Drake', commented *The York Journal* — no charges were made.⁵⁴ One historian has hinted that this verse is evidence of strong Jacobite sympathies in the city, but Jacobite sympathies in York seem relatively limited. Whig pens were quick to attack the verse, and they, too, were printed in *The York Journal*.⁵⁵

Finally, there were those with Jacobite sympathies who wished them to blossom unseen. As said, there were several Catholic gentlemen who were suspected of Jacobitism. They had their premises searched, but with no result. However, this does not necessarily mean that they were without any sympathy for Jacobitism. Roger Strickland, a gentleman of Richmond, was one such. On 4 October 1745 Newcastle wrote to Sir Conyers D'Arcy (c. 1685–1758), Lord Lieutenant of the North Riding, to inform him that, 'There been great Reason to suspect that Mr Strickland . . . is concerned in treasonable Practices against His Majesty's Government'.⁵⁶ Why should Newcastle have suspected Strickland? There are several circumstantial reasons. First, Strickland's brother, Francis, was with the Pretender, being one of those who had landed with him in Scotland (the Seven Men of Moidart). Furthermore, an examination of Strickland before three JPs on 23 June 1746 revealed that he had been brought up in France, at Douai and at Versailles, as a page to Louis XIV, and as a cavalry captain in the French army. He had also been Groom of the Bedchamber to James Francis in the 1710s. Yet he claimed he had no knowledge of the rebellion or the rebels from private sources.⁵⁷ His account book, however, reveals that he did have some Jacobite sympathies. First, he is recorded as having sent 12s. on 30 September 1747 to 'the poor Scotch prisoners' and had paid £5 12s. to purchase a picture of the Young Pretender in 1746. Secondly, unlike many gentlemen, he paid nothing towards the County Association in the defence of King George.⁵⁸

^{53.} *The York Journal*, 47 (14 Oct. 1746).

^{54.} *Ibid.*; M. Craig, *Damn Rebel Bitches: The Women of the Forty Five* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 97.

^{55.} *The York Journal*, 47 (14 Oct. 1746), 49 (28 Oct. 1746).

^{56.} *Ibid.*; PRO, SP 36/70, fol. 104.

^{57.} L. P. Wenham, *Roger Strickland, a Jacobite Gentleman, 1680–1749*, NYCRO Publications, 30 (1982), pp. 115–16.

^{58.} *Ibid.*, pp. 82, 86.

The lack of a contribution from him probably comes from his Jacobite upbringing and devout Catholicism. (Ten Catholic boys resided at his house.)⁵⁹

Another suspect was Viscount Fairfax. There had been rumours that he was about to rise in rebellion, but these proved unfounded. As with Strickland he was questioned, but with no result. However, it has been discovered that he did possess drinking glasses with Stuart insignia etched upon them. In public, Fairfax drank the health of King George.⁶⁰ Yet, although some Catholics were Jacobite in sympathy, many were opposed to it. Lord Fauconberg (1699–1774), one of the Catholic nobility identified by Butler as a Jacobite, was staunchly Hanoverian, being a Lord of the Bedchamber, a subscriber to the County Association and trusted by the Whig Archbishop of York, Thomas Herring. Humbler York Catholics also subscribed to the County Association.⁶¹

Catholicism does not seem to have been a major factor behind Yorkshire Jacobitism. Catholics made up about 1 per cent of the county's population in 1743. Leading Yorkshire Catholics such as Viscount Fauconberg, Lord Kingsland and Lord Longdale were very much integrated into the county elite of both Protestants and Catholics, none of whom had any truck with Jacobitism, and all openly supported the loyal associations. Only a few small fry were involved and at a minor level. One such was an anonymous popish innkeeper in Whitby who tried to help an escaped rebel, Sir David Murray, to escape in July 1746.⁶²

It is possible that some of those who gave money to the rebel prisoners at York Castle were motivated by Jacobite sympathies. Donations to prisoners were clearly not wanting. The gaoler, Thomas Griffiths, even had to put a notice into *The York Courant* to tell readers that they were not allowed to send sums over ten shillings. Some rebels there, Captain George Hamilton and his lady companion, Margaret Simpson, wore fine clothes.⁶³ A well-wisher, one Bache Thornhill, referred in his letters to 'the unhappy people at York . . . particularly Sir David [Murray] and Hambleton [*sic*]', hoping that 'the first will meet with mercy'. Later he wrote: 'I rejoice, Sir David, poor boy, is reprieved'.⁶⁴ However, this may be simple humanitarianism or concern for those of the same social standing (Thornhill seems limited in his concern to the very few gentry figures in York Castle) as much as any Jacobite sympathies.

When the Stuart Pretenders did arrive in Britain, the level of active support for them in England was low. Although this might be understandable in hindsight, in that there were various levels of commitment to Jacobitism and only a very few diehards, this was not necessarily appreciated by the rebels. In the aftermath of the Fifteen, Patten commented that:

they [the rebels] expected all the High Church Party to have joined them. Indeed that Party, who are never right Hearty for the Cause, 'till they are Mellow, as they call it, 'till over a Bottle or two, begin now to shew us their blind side; and that is their just Character, that they do not care for venturing their carcasses any further than the Tavern . . . they would make Men believe, who do not know them, that they would encounter the greatest opposition in the World: but after having consulted their Pillows, and the Fume a little evaporated, it is to be observed of them that they generally become mighty Tame, and are apt to look before they Leap . . . he [Thomas Forster, MP] would never again believe a drunken Tory.⁶⁵

⁵⁹. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁶⁰. Monod, *Jacobitism and the English People*, p. 135; BL, Add. MSS 35598, fol. 83^v.

⁶¹. *Ibid.*; Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, p. 127; *An Exact List of the Voluntary Subscribers*, p. 15; *The London Evening Post*, 2795 (3–5 Oct. 1745).

⁶². BL, Add. MSS 35598, fol. 223^v.

⁶³. *The York Courant*, 1058 (21 Jan. 1746); NYCRO, ZAZ 80.

⁶⁴. WYAS, Leeds, NH2873/3–4.

⁶⁵. Patten, *History of the Rebellion*, pp. 93–94.

Much the same could have been said nearly thirty years later. At Derby one reason why Murray and some of the Highland chiefs advocated retreat was that the level of support in England had been disappointing and in no way corresponded to that which they had been led to believe. The well-informed Lord Lieutenant of the West Riding, Lord Malton (1693–1750), could with good reason confidently state, even as early as 14 October when the result of the rebellion was still very uncertain: ‘all here in high spirits and the whole mob of the county with us which shows itself louder and louder every day’.⁶⁶ The reason for the misunderstanding, to put matters mildly, is perhaps the tendency to confuse legitimate political opposition to governmental policy, of which there was certainly plenty, especially over the supposedly pro-Hanoverian British foreign policy under the likes of Carteret, with a willingness to support an armed rebellion against a King and government that was able and determined to survive. As the perceptive Chavigny informed Louis XV in 1744, ‘There are always malcontents in England, but what weight can one put on this . . . they are good for ruining themselves and those they draw into their schemes’.⁶⁷ Nowhere is this more clear than in Yorkshire, where many supported the Tory candidates at elections, though they also subscribed to and supported the County Association against the rebellion.⁶⁸ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), wife of an opposition Whig, and so presumably well informed, wrote in 1744, ‘he [the Duke of Richelieu (1696–1788)] asked me what Party the Pretender had in England. I answered, as I thought, a very small one. We are told otherwise in Paris, said he.’⁶⁹ Jacobitism was anti-Hanoverian, but to be anti-Hanoverian was not necessarily to be Jacobite. This was evident at all social levels and in the press, too. The two Georges may not have commanded widespread support, but the exiled Stuarts commanded even less.⁷⁰

It is difficult to argue that there were strong Jacobite sympathies in Yorkshire. Possibly more might have enlisted if the rebels had marched through Yorkshire, since counties through which they did proceed (Northumberland and Lancashire in 1715, Lancashire in 1745) did provide some recruits, though not many. Of course this may have been due to the fact that there was gentry and nobility support for the rising in Northumberland in 1715 and there were also religious sympathies in both counties which may have induced some to join the rebels. It is perhaps significant that the Jacobite Perth vintner, John Hickson, was sent to Newcastle, not to York, to persuade Jacobite supporters in that county that now was the time to aid the Pretender. Clearly, the Jacobite high command thought that Northumberland was a source of more support than they might expect in Yorkshire, although potential and real rebels would have had to contend with the fact that Newcastle was garrisoned by regular troops, whereas York was not.

Jacobitism in Yorkshire drew its supporters from all sections of society. There were gentlemen, labourers and many in between. However, in 1715 there were displays of Jacobitism, both collectively and by individuals. In 1745 collective Jacobitism had vanished, and only that of individuals remained. It was a following of disparate and committed individuals (except during the displays of collective Jacobitism in 1714–16) rather than anything which posed a serious threat or was even a significant political gesture. Although numbers appear to have been slightly higher for 1745, this is probably due to better, and more, record keeping during the later rebellion. It manifested itself in a variety

⁶⁶ Northamptonshire Record Office, Fitzwilliam Collection, Malton to Fitzwilliam, 14 Oct. 1745.

⁶⁷ J. A. Cannon, ‘Historians and the ’45: Listening to Silence’, in *Jacobitism and the ’45*, ed. J. Lynch (London, 1995), p. 25.

⁶⁸ *Yorkshire Poll Book, 1741; An Exact List of the Voluntary Subscribers*; BL, Add. MSS 26964, fols 84^r–94^v.

⁶⁹ *Selected Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. R. Halsband (Cambridge, 1970), p. 196.

⁷⁰ R. Harris, *A Patriot Press* (Oxford, 1993).

of fashions, from enlisting with the rebel forces to drinking seditious healths and writing seditious verse. It was also a failure. Although the volunteer forces and militia have often been mocked, they were easily sufficient to maintain the peace of the county and to suppress any Jacobite activity that dared to make itself known. (The same cannot be said for the situation in 1688.) Hidden rebel sympathisers remained hidden and did not endanger the Hanoverian dynasty. The answer to Black's question is that, although there were traces of Jacobitism in Yorkshire, it was, unlike that of Lancashire in 1745 or Northumberland in 1715, a very thinly spread and disunited force that, in retrospect, posed no threat to the forces raised by the Whig authorities.

APPENDIX: SUSPECTED YORKSHIRE JACOBITES EXTRACTED FROM
BUTLER LIST OF 1743

Henry Howard, 4th Earl of Carlisle
Lord Langdale
Sir Miles Stapylton
Sir Henry Slingsby
George Fox, MP
William Aislaby, MP
Hon. George Berkeley
Charles Pelham

(From Cruickshanks, *Political Untouchables*, pp. 137–38.)

RETAILING AT SELBY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY¹

By Roger A. Bellingham

BACKGROUND

Selby, at the mouth of the small beck later known as Selby Dam, had long been a convenient anchorage for ships going up the Ouse to York, and it may be that the siting of Selby Abbey, when it was founded around 1069, was due to that fact. That location, and the rise of the great abbey of Selby, supported the prosperity of Selby in the later Middle Ages.² After the dissolution of the abbey it continued to prosper since it was to Selby that the textiles of the West Riding were brought for shipment. Following the improvement of the lower Aire in 1699 it is generally said that 'for two generations Selby languished', but the authority for that alleged decline can usually be traced to the passing comments of one Dr Pococke in 1751.³ In reality there must have been a steady growth in the road traffic to Selby in the eighteenth century, hence the Leeds–Selby turnpike of 1741, one of a series of turnpikes promoted around that time to improve the links from the West Riding across the Pennines and to the ports.⁴ The canal between Hattersley and Selby, which was completed in 1778 and bypassed the lower Aire, was again built in response to demand, though it was not until after the end of the American War in 1783 that the rising prosperity of Selby is recorded in the traffic down the navigation and in the rising figures in the Selby Parish Register.⁵ As Jackson points out:

The rising town of Selby was, after the opening of the Selby canal in 1778, the key to the whole Aire and Calder system, and, at the end of the century, the gateway to the Huddersfield and Rochdale canals which linked Hull with Lancashire.⁶

Mountain's *History of Selby* describes the building of Selby Bridge across the Ouse in 1791–92, despite ferocious opposition from the City of York, and the consolidation of Selby's prosperity.⁷ The creation of a new turnpiked road to Market Weighton and Hull

¹ This article is one consequence of the research undertaken for my PhD thesis, R. A. Bellingham, 'Demographic, economic and social change in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: some conclusions from a study of four small towns in Yorkshire from circa 1750 to circa 1830' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2000). Constructive comments made by an anonymous referee have resulted in a more wide ranging survey than was originally envisaged and I am correspondingly grateful.

² R. B. Dobson, *Selby Abbey and Town* (York, 1993).

³ D. Hey, *Yorkshire from AD 1000* (1986), p. 215; B. F. Duckham, *The Yorkshire Ouse: The History of a River Navigation* (Newton Abbot, 1967), pp. 71–72; *The travels through England of Dr Richard Pococke*, 1, ed. J. J. Cartwright, *Camden Society*, n.s. 42 (1888), pp. 171–72.

⁴ Hey, *Yorkshire*, pp. 216–17. For a recent assessment see J. A. Chartres, 'Leeds: Regional Distributive Centre of Luxuries in the Later Eighteenth Century', *Northern History*, 37 (2000), p. 119.

⁵ Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, Selby Parish Register, PR SEL. For the Selby Canal see B. F. Duckham, 'Selby and the Aire and Calder Navigation 1774–1826', *The Journal of Transport History*, 7.2 (1965), pp. 87–95.

⁶ G. Jackson, *Hull in the Eighteenth Century: A study in Economic and Social History* (Oxford, 1972), p. 12.

⁷ J. Mountain, *History of Selby* (York, 1800), pp. 145–61; Bellingham, 'Four Small Towns in Yorkshire', pp. 81–87.

in 1793 meant that much of the traffic from the East Riding to the West Riding was now flowing across that bridge rather than through York.

In 1800, Mountain, after dwelling on the construction of the bridge across the Ouse, touching on the roads coming to the town and noting its market day and fairs, said of Selby:

Here is a common brewery, and upwards of twenty public Inns, the principal of which are the George and the King's Head, which latter is the Excise Office; some dealers in wines and spirits; together with linen-drapers, grocers-shops, &c. in abundance.

The quantity of shipping which occupies the Ouse up to, and down from Selby, per annum is computed to be 369,780 tons, navigated by 28,772 men.

The manufacturing of leather and sailcloth is not inconsiderable.

Here is also a cast iron foundery, and a good ship yard, where are built a great number of vessel upon the best and most approved construction, from fifty to seven or eight hundred tons burthen.⁸

The new canal to Goole, opened in 1826, bypassed a longer stretch of the lower Aire, and the Selby Canal. This must have affected Selby and indeed Hull, but the steamers that had come up the Humber from Hull since 1815, and which connected with coaches from Leeds, Wakefield, Harrogate and York, and, after 1834, with the Leeds to Selby railway, helped to protect the town's prosperity until after 1841.⁹

In 1743 the population of Selby was about 1280, in 1777 it may have been 1700.¹⁰ By 1801 it was said to be 2861 and by 1821, 4097. The increase of 123 per cent between 1743 and 1801 should be compared with around 57 per cent for England as a whole, 39 per cent for York, 100 per cent for Hull and 231 per cent for Leeds.

MARKETS¹¹

The development of the market at Selby reflected the needs of the population of the town as well as the prosperity of the surrounding agricultural area. The growth of Selby as the port for Leeds and the West Riding, especially after the completion of the Selby Canal in 1778, the prosperity of Selby's merchants and the development of the town's service trades, all reflected the growing prosperity of the West Riding. Selby's market also prospered, hence the physical improvement of the market area. It was improved and expanded as a result of the reorientation of the town after the bridge was built in 1791, when the opportunity was taken to make radical changes including the enlargement of the market area and the building of new houses and shops.¹² The market, held on Monday, was one of a series of local markets held on successive days and the town's function as a local market centre was very much secondary to the town's trading role for a wider area. When considering that market in relation to nearby market centres McCutcheon's *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the end of the 18th Century*, is an invaluable source and Hey provides a useful map in his *Yorkshire from AD 1000* showing Yorkshire's markets and fairs in 1770.¹³ Some of the markets in Yorkshire noted by Everitt as existing between 1500 and 1640 had all but disappeared by 1770 and a handful of new ones had been chartered.

⁸. Mountain, *Selby*, p. 161.

⁹. Bellingham, 'Four Small Towns in Yorkshire', pp. 23-25, 93-98.

¹⁰. P. Clark and J. Hosking, *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550-1851*, Centre for Urban History, University of Leicester Working Paper No. 5 (2nd edition, 1993), p. 181; W. W. Morrell, *The History and Antiquities of Selby* (Selby and London, 1867), p. 331.

¹¹. For markets, fairs and shops at Selby see Bellingham, 'Four Small Towns in Yorkshire', pp. 127-147.

¹². Morrell, *Selby*, p. 280.

¹³. K. L. McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets to the end of the 18th Century*, Thoresby Society, 39 (1940); Hey, *Yorkshire*, p. 184.

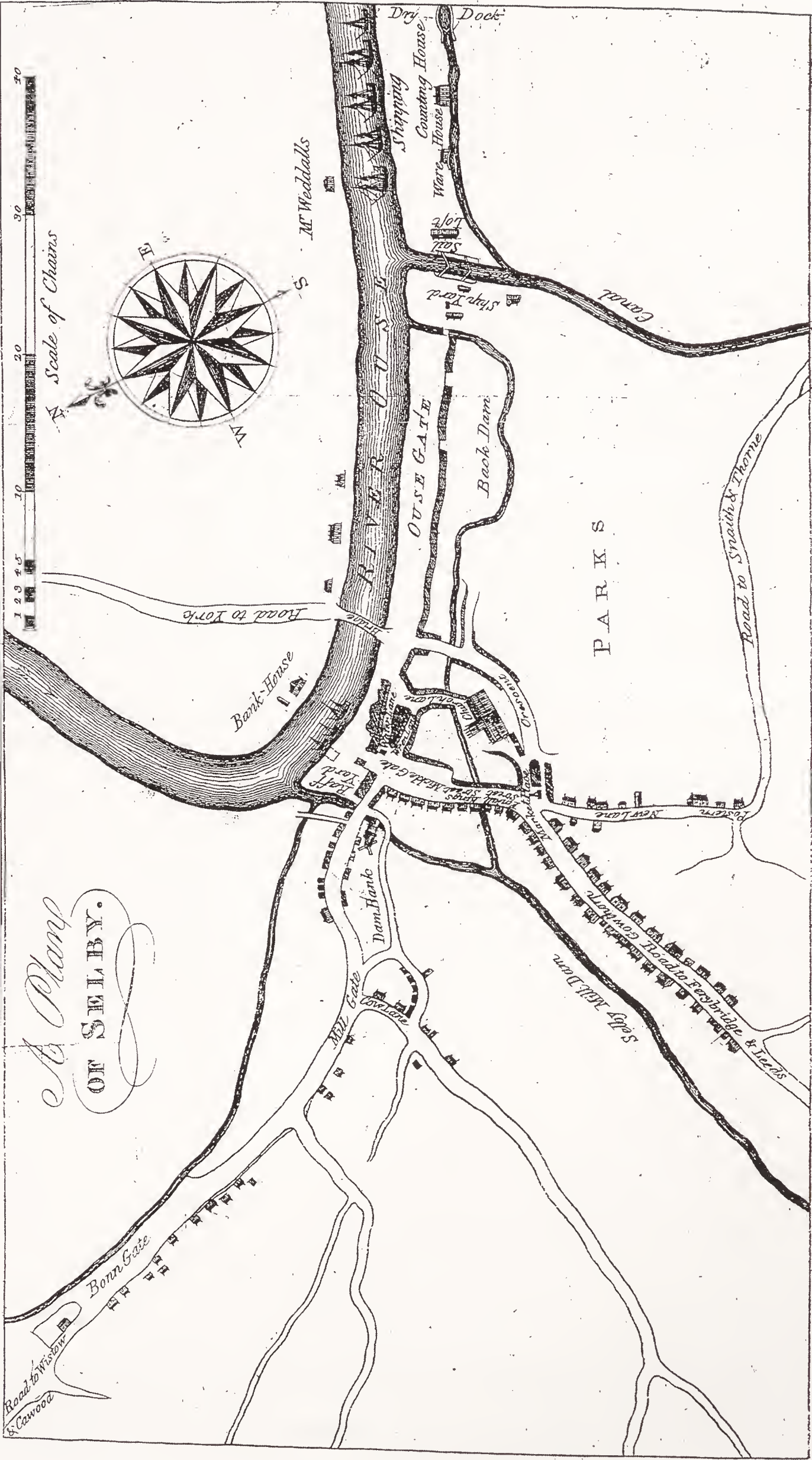


Fig. 1. Selby in 1800. Reproduced from J. Mountain, *History of Selby* (York, 1800).

Everitt drew attention to the vital role that small market towns played in the life of the surrounding area, a facet well brought out by Unwin in his study of the market towns of the Vale of York.¹⁴ But Marshall, in the opening pages of his study of the Cumbrian market town, stresses the need to recognise the interrelation of towns, and to this end he draws attention to the need to consider the days upon which towns held their markets, reflecting the rhythm of the wider community.¹⁵

TABLE 1: The pattern of market days in 1822/3
Towns near York holding market on Saturdays

	Miles from York	Market day
York	0.0	Sat plus
Pocklington	13.2	Sat
Boroughbridge	15.5	Sat
Howden	17.4	Sat
New Malton	18.0	Sat
Helmsley	19.9	Sat
Pontefract	20.6	Sat
Leeds	21.2	Sat plus
Beverley	28.3	Sat
Doncaster	30.5	Sat

Market towns within 20 miles of Selby

	Miles from Selby	Market day
Selby	0.0	Mon
Cawood	4.0	Wed
Snaith	6.5	Thu
Sherburn	7.5	Fri
Howden	9.0	Sat
Tadcaster	10.6	Wed
York	11.9	Sat plus
Pontefract	12.1	Sat
Thorne	12.8	Wed
Pocklington	15.4	Sat
Wetherby	16.4	Thu
Mkt Weighton	17.1	Wed
Doncaster	18.8	Sat
Wakefield	18.9	Fri
Leeds	19.3	Sat plus
South Cave	19.3	Mon

Source: Baines.

¹⁴ A. Everitt, 'Country carriers in the nineteenth century', *Journal of Transport History*, n.s. 3 (1975/6), pp. 179–202; R. W. Unwin, 'Tradition and Transition: Market Towns of the Vale of York, 1660–1830', *Northern History*, 17 (1981), pp. 72–116.
¹⁵ J. D. Marshall, 'The rise and transformation of the Cumbrian market town, 1660–1900', *Northern History*, 19 (1983), p. 132.

Table 1¹⁶ shows the Saturday markets near York and the smaller markets round Selby. The latter illustrate very neatly the rhythm of the small market centres referred to by Marshall, a rhythm that had existed for centuries past.¹⁷ The markets of Selby, Cawood, Snaith and Sherburn followed on successive days. But in fact Snaith's market day was changed in 1782 from Friday to Thursday because other towns, particularly Wakefield, had Friday markets.¹⁸ By 1822 the bridge across the Ouse at Selby and an improved road to Howden (albeit not turnpiked) may have made Howden an alternative Saturday market to York, but the bridge had also strengthened Selby's market area on the East Riding bank of the Ouse. The Selby canal improved communications to Pontefract, as well as to Leeds and Wakefield, though Pocklington, Wetherby and Market Weighton must have remained irrelevant. In the late eighteenth century, Selby's profile suggests a very local market area competing with nearby Snaith, and an analysis of the bridegrooms resident within seven miles of Selby gives every indication of a compact, but consistent, market area of about six miles, overlapping with Snaith to the south.¹⁹ But one must stress that the size of the market area is only one indication of the scale of retail activity. As is mentioned below, the total Shop Tax assessments for Selby in 1788 were £4 9s. 6d. (£4.48) as against 10s. (£0.50) at Snaith.

The extent and frequency of carriers' services have been widely used as a source for assessing the likely strength and catchment area of a local market. The village carriers coming into a market town have often been treated as defining the market area of that town, whilst the extent of carriers' services generally has been used as part of the assessment of the town's overall standing in relation to other towns. But such data must be handled with care. Further, some studies have been confined to road transport, which can produce a very distorted picture.²⁰

The *Universal British Directory* shows the sea-borne services from London and the south to Selby and onwards to the West Riding and Manchester, but it gives no indication that there were any village carriers serving Selby. Indeed the only carrier listed is George Mountain who kept the weekly market boat to York from Selby.²¹ The Baines directory of 1822/3 is more helpful. Of the local carriers going out from Selby, all were to Saturday markets. Three, perhaps four, were to York, one to Howden and one to Pontefract. As to the five carriers coming to Selby on market day, two came by water: a boat coming down the Derwent from Bubwith and a pair of packets coming up the river from Barmby on the Marsh on the East Riding side of the Ouse. Three came by land: one from Hemingbrough, about five miles away, and two from Snaith.

One can see the continuing importance of York and appreciate the status of Howden,

¹⁶. The data in Table 1 has been taken from E. Baines, *Directory and Gazetteer of the County of York*, 1, *West Riding* (Leeds, 1822), II, *East and North Ridings* (Leeds, 1823). It should be stressed that a Saturday market records the importance of that market at a far earlier date. Owen (McCutchcon, *Yorkshire Fairs*, pp. 173–77) records that in 1770 York's markets were held on Thursday and Saturday. By 1823 a Tuesday market was also listed. The markets at Leeds were held on Tuesday and Saturday in 1770 and 1822.

¹⁷. Marshall, 'The Cumbrian market town', p. 133.

¹⁸. *Life in the past around Snaith*, ed. M. Noble (Snaith, 1988), p. 13.

¹⁹. Selby Marriage Register 1754 to 1802. One must stress that marriage horizons need to be used with great caution, cf. R. A. Bellingham, 'The use of marriage horizons to study migration', *Local Population Studies*, 44, (1990), pp. 52–55.

²⁰. Cf. T. C. Barker and D. Gerhold, *Rise and Rise of Road Transport 1770–1990* (London, 1993), pp. 8–20 and Everitt, 'Country carriers'.

²¹. P. Barfoot and J. Wilkes, *Universal British Directory*, 2nd edn, 1793–98 (Facsimile Text edn, Kings Lynn, 1993), IV, p. 532.

apparent from its entry in the *Universal British Directory*.²² The incoming carriers seem to confirm a market area for Selby of about six or seven miles.²³

In Pigot's directory of 1830, the carrier from Selby to Howden's market had been replaced by one from Howden going to Selby's market. There was also a cluster of carriers from East Riding villages to the north — one can perceive the continuing influence of the bridge — and the decline of Snaith's market is reflected by carriers coming in to Selby from nearby Drax and Rawcliffe.²⁴

FAIRS

Selby also had several fairs in the course of the year. The sixth edition of Owen's *Book of Fairs* in 1770 lists three fairs at Selby in 1770, one on Easter Tuesday, one in June and one in October, for cattle, wool, flax, tin and copper ware.²⁵ As to the wool and flax Dr Pococke said, after he visited Selby in 1751, '... and they send out some flax, and ... they also manufacture wool and linen for their own use'.²⁶ The reference to tin and copper ware suggests that these items might have been made in the Selby area, using imported raw materials, and then sold at the fair for use elsewhere. However no evidence of this has been found in Selby wills and administrations between 1752 and 1764, nor in the Window Tax assessment for 1788.

In 1800 Mountain mentions the three fairs at Selby, without referring to goods sold, but also lists a 'Shew' of horses from 20 to 26 September, a statute fair for servants, and six-weekly fairs for flax 'from Michaelmas to Saint Peter's day, old style'.²⁷ The data in the Window and Assessed Taxes return for Selby for 1788 gives little indication as to how the general fairs were integrated into the commercial life of Selby.²⁸ It could well be that, with the exception of the six weekly flax fairs, there was, in fact, little such integration, in that many of those involved with the fairs were not Selby residents.

There is no doubt that these fairs were significant social events and the demand for accommodation would impact on the inns and on others who offered accommodation, food, drink and entertainment. But this is not to say that they were commercially significant to the life of the town. It was the day-to-day retailing and the weekly markets that were the focus of this part of the economy of the town.²⁹

SHOPS

When considering the scale and scope of economic activity in a town a standard method is to devise a points system based on the presence or absence of a particular occupation. There are however practical problems in using this system, especially for small towns in the eighteenth century, not least because an occupational description can be just that and give no indication of the scale of an individual's activities. At Selby a carpenter could

²². *Universal British Directory*, III, p. 392.

²³. In the late eighteenth century the number of local carriers coming to a market centre may not be a reliable indication of the prosperity of that town's market since a small established town such as Selby would normally have had an adequate informal transport network and had therefore no need of a network of listed local carriers. Cf. Bellingham, 'Four Small Towns in Yorkshire', pp. 147–66.

²⁴. Pigot and Co., *National Commercial Directory (Yorkshire)*, (1830).

²⁵. McCutcheon, *Yorkshire Fairs and Markets*, p. 176, in list reprinted from Owen's *Book of Fairs*, 6th edn (1770).

²⁶. Cartwright, *Travels of Pococke*, p. 173.

²⁷. Mountain, *Selby*, p. 160.

²⁸. BI, Selby Window and Assessed Taxes return 1788, PR SEL 307.

²⁹. The Muis may however overstate the case in suggesting that by the end of the eighteenth century all that remained of the great fairs was the trade in livestock and some foodstuffs, H.-G. and L. H. Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping in Eighteenth Century England* (Kingston, Ontario, and London, 1989), p. 27.

mean anything between a wealthy shipbuilder and a poor carpenter.³⁰ Wills and inventories can be of assistance, and suggest that at Selby in 1750 there were men of substance, some of whom were trading over a relatively wide area: John Jackson a cabinet maker whose will was proved in 1757 had an inventory of £199, including fifty-six coffin bottoms and an unfinished organ; Robert Wharrey, a mercer, had an inventory in 1753 of £343 and a wide collection of items indicative of a wholesale rather than a retail trade. The Selby Window Tax records show that he probably occupied a house with nineteen taxable windows. In 1755 there was also a grocer with twenty-three windows. Occupations listed at Selby included men severally described as grocer, draper or mercer rather than the combined description found in some other Yorkshire small towns at that time.³¹ But, as was the case in small towns elsewhere, the pattern of retail activity at Selby *c.* 1750 may well have been focused on its market and on tradesmen producing goods to order rather than on fixed shops selling goods by retail.³²

In the third quarter of the eighteenth century there was a marked change in the provision in retail services at Selby, comparable to that noted by Mitchell in his study of retailing in Cheshire. Mitchell used the national returns for the Shop Tax, which give the global amount of tax paid within individual townships, to assess the likely number of shops within each township. He compared the £28 paid for Stockport with Nantwich, Knutsford and Altrincham which all 'paid less than £5'. It is however possible that he did not consider that rental values might have been relatively lower in the smaller towns so that their totals were not directly comparable with the amount paid for Stockport.³³

The Shop Tax was levied from 1785 until 1788 on shops and on houses or buildings used, in whole or in part, as shops, where the annual rental value was £5 or over. It is important to bear in mind that the amount of the tax related to the value of the property as a whole, not just the retail element. Bakers and wholesalers were excluded. The returns held at the Public Record Office generally only show the total tax for each place and, since the rates of tax increased for properties with a higher rental value, it can be difficult to estimate the number of shops in any given community. Copies of the local detailed returns are correspondingly valuable.³⁴

Because of the survival of the 1788 Window and Assessed Taxes return for Selby, which included the short lived Shop Tax, one can obtain an unusually clear picture of the retail activities in Selby at that date and the wide range can be seen from Table 2.

³⁰. The occupational classifications in this article are derived from those used by Glennie, rather than the Booth/Armstrong categories, which were themselves based on the Registrar General's categories in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth century men were generally described by their occupation irrespective of their wealth or, to some degree, their social standing. See P. Glennie, *Distinguishing men's trades*, Historical Geography Research Series 25 (1990), pp. 10–18 and 93–95, table 2:3 and table 5:10.

³¹. BI, Selby Peculiar wills and inventories, Selby Window Tax returns 1756, 1760, 1773, 1782 and 1785, PR SEL 343–46, Selby Window and Assessed Taxes returns 1788 and 1789, PR SEL 307–08; West Yorkshire Archive Service (Yorkshire Archaeological Society), Selby Window Tax Return 1755, MD 186; M. D. Riley, 'Families and their property in early modern England: Study of four communities on the Yorkshire Ouse 1660 to 1760', unpublished DPhil thesis, University of York, 1990.

In 1755, besides numerous substantial inns, there were two tanners who paid window tax on fourteen and seventeen windows respectively, a currier with twelve windows and a bricklayer (who doubtless made bricks and also paid tax on twelve windows). There were eighteen houses whose occupiers paid window tax on fifteen windows or more — 5 per cent of the total, and more than would be the case in absolute and percentage terms until at least 1790.

³². Newspapers have been a fruitful source for those researching retailing in larger towns but unfortunately the Selby shopkeepers do not appear to have advertised their wares in this way.

³³. I. Mitchell, 'Pitt's Shop Tax in the History of Retailing', *The Local Historian*, 14.6 (1981), pp. 348–51; I. Mitchell, 'Retailing in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Cheshire', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 130 (1981) pp. 37–60; I. Mitchell, 'The development of urban retailing 1700–1815', in *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, ed. P. Clark (London, 1984), pp. 259–83, especially pp. 270–71.

³⁴. For the Shop Tax and the Window Tax and the other Assessed Taxes, see Appendix below.

Thirty-one occupiers were assessed for Shop Tax and the total amount payable was £4 9s. 6d. (£4.48). By comparing the assessed rental for the Inhabited Houses Tax with that for the Shop Tax, one can establish which of the eighty-one individuals with an assessment of £5 and over for the former tax were thought by the assessors not to be carrying on a retail trade. By looking at those not assessed for either tax, and their occupations, one can then make an estimate of the number of those below the £5 threshold who were likely to be carrying on retail trade. The Selby return suggests that although only thirty-one individuals paid Shop Tax, there were almost as many again who were engaged in retail trade but were below the tax threshold.³⁵

Using the Window Tax, Inhabited Houses Tax and Shop Tax assessments, Table 2 assesses the manufacturing, retailing and wholesale activities within Selby. Since a person's trade or profession would usually be carried on from his home, the size of the Inhabited House Tax assessment gives a clear indication of the scale of his or her activities. For properties below the £5 threshold the number of windows for which he or she was assessed gives a similar, though less accurate, indicator.

In pre-industrial England the distinction between 'retail' and 'manufacturing' seems to have been largely irrelevant when applied to craftsmen, and the commercial activities of any one individual did not always fit neatly into any one category. Thus although the roper paid Shop Tax, he would also have been making marine supplies. The tanners and fellmongers (elsewhere called skinners) did not pay Shop Tax but two of the four curriers did pay it.

Thomas Proctor, the heckler who paid Shop Tax may be an atypical case. His main occupation was no doubt that of a heckler — a flax dresser — though, doubtless because of his contacts with local farmers, he told the Royal Exchange that he was also in business as a cheese-monger when they insured his 'goods in trade' for £700. It might well be that others in the town would have felt that any retail activity being undertaken was minimal, but Thomas Proctor was a Quaker and would have followed the Quaker Advice against 'defrauding the king of any of his customs, duties, or excise . . .'.³⁶ This example illustrates the important proviso that the amount of Shop Tax paid in respect of a house does not always reflect the scale of the retail activity being carried on in that house.

It is indicative of the status and wealth of the Selby merchants that all those so listed in the Selby return were described as 'Mr', and that almost all were paying Inhabited House Tax, though none paid Shop Tax — their activities were clearly over a far wider area than the immediate vicinity of Selby. The size of the assessments of the eight drapers (three of them women) suggests that they too were operating over a wider area, but they all appear to have been engaged in retail trade. All five grocers were assessed at £5 or above, and all were described as 'Mr'. This suggests that Margot Finn's comment that in the nineteenth century a grocer referred to a provisioner of higher status and wealth than a shopkeeper, applied equally to the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Mr Robert Wintringham, grocer, who had eighteen assessable windows and was assessed for shop tax on a rent of £12, had taken out insurance cover for 'utensils and trade' for £650 with the Royal Exchange, suggesting that he held a substantial stock. Cover for £150 for his household furniture indicates substantial personal wealth.³⁷ Five men within the general description of mercer, draper, grocer and hardware man, who were living at

³⁵ Selby Window Tax return 1788. Cf. Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*, p. 75.

³⁶ See Guildhall Library, London, Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policy, Ref. 68021 MS 7253/2 — Thomas Proctor; *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends* (1834), p. 34.

³⁷ M. Finn, 'Debt and credit in Bath's court of requests, 1829–39', *Urban History*, 21.2 (1994), p. 224; Guildhall Library, Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policy reference 98449 MS 7253/11 — Robert Wintringham.

TABLE 2: Economic activity at Selby in 1788
(excluding agriculture, transport, labourers and the professions)

Occupation Group	Primary Manufactures	Secondary Manufactures	Retail	Wholesale
Textiles	Twine maker Roper#* Flax dresser#*! Wool dresser Wool stapler	Weaver		
Leather	Tanner*! Currier#*	Saddler#* Collar maker		
Metal working		Blacksmith		
Wood working	Shipbuilder* Blockmaker*	Cooper Carpenter Joiner#* Wheelwright Bricklayer* Plumber/Glazier*		
Building				
Food & drink	Common Brewer*!		Baker	
Clothing & footwear		Breeches maker Tailor/stay maker* Shoemaker* Milliner Patten maker Basket maker Potter	Hatter#*	
Other crafts & trades			Clockmaker	
Dealing & retail trade	Fellmonger/ skinner*		Draper#*! Butcher#* Grocer#*! Brazier#* Hardwareman Shopkeeper#* Innkeeper#*	Merchant*! Dealer

One or more in occupation:-
Assessed for shop tax #
Assessed for Inhabited houses tax *
Described as Mr or Mrs. !

Source: Selby Window & Assessed taxes return 1788.

Selby between 1776 and 1787, were covered by the Royal Exchange or Sun Fire offices for stock valued between £150 and £650.³⁸

Although none of the nine publicans paid shop tax, two of the seven innkeepers did — though not in respect of the largest inn operated by Thomas Hawdon. The inns at Selby were no doubt used by merchants, but probably not for retail sales. The occupiers of the two smallest licensed premises were described as publicans, but beyond that there appears to be no obvious distinction between innkeepers and publicans.³⁹

³⁸. Guildhall Library, Royal Exchange and Sun Fire policies, MS 7253/2, 3, 11, policy references 69141, 68028, 70659, 98449 and 100949.
³⁹. For the distinctions between inn, tavern or public house, and retailing from inns, see P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: a social history 1200–1830* (1983), pp. 5–15 and p. 231.

Charles Hopkins, hatter, was assessed for Shop Tax on a value of £5 and Miss Ann Teasdall, a milliner with eleven taxable windows, on £9. But there were other shops in the clothing and footwear group below the £5 threshold. What is puzzling is that John Dickinson, a tailor with seven chargeable windows, was assessed on £6 for the Inhabited Houses Tax yet not for Shop Tax. It could therefore be that all those who *made* clothing and footwear were not, in Selby at least, considered to be in retail trade. The position of the cordwainers may be rather more complex. It is possible that Selby had one, or perhaps two shoemakers who were selling wholesale rather than retail.⁴⁰

Daniel Abone, a mariner who paid Shop Tax, may well be of more general significance. He was listed as an innkeeper by Mountain in 1800 and held an alehouse licence in 1803. In 1788 it may well be that it was his wife who was operating a shop.⁴¹ Shops such as this only surface if they are assessed above £5. It could well be that there were a considerable number who were below the threshold. Alexander said that 'in the eighteenth century shopkeepers drew most of their custom from a small class of highly paid workers, tradesmen, farmers, gentry and aristocracy'. Whilst Selby in 1788 was certainly prosperous, the likely number of shops indicates a wider spectrum than Alexander suggested. Further, if Daniel Abone's case is an indication of the existence, in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, of the small-scale part-time shops familiar in the nineteenth century, then one is bound to suggest that in reality we have very little idea of the true extent of the retail services offered in the eighteenth century to the spectrum of society below that mentioned by Alexander.⁴²

Table 3 looks more closely at those at Selby who were assessed for Shop Tax in 1788, and at some of those who were not so assessed. These figures can then be compared with those in Mountain's directory of 1800. One certainly cannot say that all the twenty-three individuals whose property was valued at less than £5 would otherwise have been liable to be assessed for Shop Tax. But many were occupying houses with six taxable windows or more, as was Edward Jefferson, one of the two clockmakers in the town. Joseph Champney, watchmaker of Selby, probably the Joseph Champney listed as 'gentleman' and occupying a house with seven windows in 1788, arranged for two sons to be apprenticed in York, one to a mercer in 1773 the other to an apothecary in 1781, at premiums of £80 and £90 respectively.⁴³

WIDER CONSIDERATIONS

Mitchell has shown the value of the Shop Tax returns held at the Public Record Office — at national level the total taxes paid under the various heads have generally survived. For Yorkshire in 1788 they appear to be the amount paid for each township, grouped within wapentakes, which in turn are grouped within each Riding. The corporate towns generally have individual returns, usually subdivided by ward or parish. However the returns at the Public Record Office only show the tax paid under each head in respect of each unit and it is not therefore easy to make comparisons between towns.⁴⁴

The value of the surviving local returns, such as the ones for Selby, is not limited to the data they provide for the place in question. By examining the way that the taxes were calculated at a local level, and the amount paid by individuals, one can draw conclusions as to the significance of the tax paid for places where local returns do not survive. Direct comparisons between the taxes paid for different towns are not always

⁴⁰. Cf. D. Alexander, *Retailing in England during the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1970), pp. 96, 142.

⁴¹. Mountain, *Selby, Directory*; WYAS, Wakefield, alehouse licence, QE32 21.

⁴². Alexander, *Retailing*, p. 24.

⁴³. York City Archives, York Apprentices Register, D14, 144 and 217.

⁴⁴. Public Record Office, Window and Assessed Taxes 1788, E182/1159.

TABLE 3: Retail activities at Selby 1788 & 1800

	1788 — Window & Assessed taxes			1800
	Not assessed for	Assessed for	All	Mountain
	Shop Tax			
	Inhabited Houses Act			
	Asst < £5	Asst > = £5	Shop Tax	
Apothecary	0	0	3	
Surgeon				3
Druggist	0	0	2	2
Brazier	1	0	1	2
Butcher	6	0	3	10
Currier	2	0	2	2
Dealer in pots	1	0	0	1
Grocer	0	0	5	6
Hardwareman	1	0	0	1
Hatter	2	0	1	3
Linen draper	2	1	4	7
Woollen draper	0	0	1	1
Milliner	0	0	1	0
Roper	0	0	1	2
Sadler	1	0	1	3
Shopkeeper	0	0	1	2
Baker	5	0	0	7
Clock maker	2	0	0	2
Bookseller				1
Heckler			1	
Joiner			1	
Mariner			1	
	23		29	55
Innkeeper	3	2	2	22
Publican	5	4	0	
			31	77

Source: Selby Window & Assessed Taxes return 1788 & Mountain, *Selby*.

TABLE 4: 1788 Window Tax & selected assessed taxes assessments

	Selby £Dec	Selby No.	Howden £Dec	Beverley £Dec	Doncaster £Dec
Window tax	115.12	381	80.73	369.97	365.35
Additional tax	135.03		99.40	459.86	470.10
Inhabited Houses tax	15.15	81	17.27	87.15	92.75
Shop tax	4.48	31	7.40	20.98	35.73
Shop tax as a percentage of Inhabited Houses tax	29%	38%	43%	24%	39%

Source: PRO E182/1159 and Selby Window and Assessed Taxes Return 1788.

helpful, but the relationship between the Window Tax and the various Assessed Taxes can be very revealing. Table 4 looks at Selby, Howden, Beverley and Doncaster. Since the Inhabited Houses Tax was only levied on houses with a rental value of over £5, and generally excluded farms, the fact that the total for Beverley was 24 per cent of the Window Tax, and for Doncaster 25 per cent, as opposed to 13 per cent for Selby suggests, as one might expect, that there were many more larger houses at Beverley and Doncaster. The comparison between the Inhabited Houses Tax and the Shop Tax is also revealing: 29 per cent at Selby, 24 per cent at Beverley, 39 per cent at Doncaster and 43 per cent at Howden. It indicates the approximate percentage of the occupiers of these larger properties who were engaged in retail trade. What one cannot deduce is the commercial activity, if any, of the balance in each case. Perhaps they were gentry; maybe they were merchants in trade but not in retail trade; possibly they were engaged in some other commercial activity.

A general indication of retail activity in Yorkshire can be seen from the respective amounts of Shop Tax paid by the three Ridings and York in 1788, and this data is summarised in Table 5. The only towns near Selby with an assessment greater than its figure of £4.48 were Howden (£7.40) nine miles to the east, York (£212.80) and Pontefract (£20.20), both some twelve miles away.

TABLE 5: Yorkshire Shop Tax assessments — 1788
(All townships)

	East Riding	North Riding	West Riding	York
Tax per Township				
Less than £1	15	15	51	0
£1 to £4.99	4	5	12	0
£5 to £9.99	1	3	3	0
£10 to £19.99	0	2	3	0
£20 to £49.99	1	1	4	0
Above £49.99	1	0	2	1
Total	22	26	75	1

Source: PRO E182/1159.

Table 5 places the returns for Selby in context. Without considerable further research it would be unwise to attempt to analyse the Yorkshire data in the way that Mitchell has done for Cheshire. It is however interesting that he found that of the sixty-one Cheshire townships in respect of which shop tax was paid, 66 per cent had no more than two assessable shops; the Yorkshire average was 36 per cent. Mitchell suggested that there was ‘a basic provision of shopping facilities right across [Cheshire]’ in 1788. Table 5 suggests that in Yorkshire fixed retail shops were to be found in towns and in the urban areas that were developing in the industrial West Riding, and around Hull and the larger towns, rather than in the rural townships. If this was so then it emphasises the continuing importance of the small Yorkshire market towns in the late eighteenth century.⁴⁵

Recent research has suggested that nationally the rapid growth in the number of shops dates from at least the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and Mui and Mui consider

⁴⁵ Cf. Mitchell, ‘The development of urban retailing 1700–1815’, pp. 270–72. The format of Table 5 follows the format of Mitchell’s Table 28 showing the Cheshire returns.

that by the end of the century shops were appearing in considerable numbers in the northern industrial areas. Perhaps Selby fits into this pattern.⁴⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Considerable work has been undertaken in the past using Land Tax records though much of it may now prove to be of limited value.⁴⁷ However little use appears to have been made of the returns for the Window Tax and the Assessed Taxes. In part this is understandable. The survival rate for Window Tax returns is poor and for the Assessed Taxes, especially the Shop Tax, even worse. The Selby returns are correspondingly valuable both in themselves and in the way that they can be used to interpret the summaries for other communities for which the returns do not survive.

The Window and Assessed Taxes Return of 1788 gives an interesting insight as to the number of shops in Selby at that date, and it is clear from the return that there were many smaller shops that were not assessed for Shop Tax. This therefore throws doubt on some of the conclusions of Mitchell, as well as Alexander, in that both may have underestimated the extent of smaller shops at the end of the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Perhaps Selby is more typical of Yorkshire than of England as a whole. But that of itself is of interest. Returns for other communities do exist⁴⁸ and it is to be hoped that others can be encouraged to undertake further research.

It is tempting to attempt to draw wider conclusions from this modest piece of research, but that would be unwise. There could have been between forty and fifty shops at Selby in 1788 at a time when the population of the town was around 1800 people.⁴⁹ But many of the customers of the Selby shops must have lived outside the town. It is also very difficult to make any comparisons with later trade directories. Table 2 shows comparable occupations for 1788 and for Mountain's *Directory* of 1800. But the 1788 Window tax return covered some 280 economically active householders (excluding some sixty labourers) and probably covered between 10 and 15 per cent of the population. Mountain's *Directory* covered about eight per cent of the population in 1801, while Baines's *Directory* covered less than seven per cent of the population in 1821. Clearly wider conclusions must await the results of further research on the surviving Shop Tax returns.

APPENDIX⁵⁰

The Window Tax

The Window Tax operated from 1696 to 1851 but was altered by successive Acts of Parliament. After 1784 the returns were consolidated with the various 'Assessed Taxes'. Very little has been written on the Window Tax from a historical perspective, other than by Ward and Medlycott.⁵¹ The Window Tax returns should be contrasted with the Land Tax returns, which have been used by historians with varying degrees of success. There are two crucial differences. Firstly the name listed in a Window Tax assessment will normally be the occupier of the property who was therefore resident at that property,

⁴⁶. Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*, pp. 195–96; for a neat summary of current thinking see M. Winstanley, 'Concentration and competition in the retail sector c1800–1900', in *Business enterprise in modern Britain*, ed. M. W. Kirby and M. B. Rose (London, 1994), pp. 238–42.

⁴⁷. Cf. D. E. Ginter, *A Measure of Wealth: The English Land Tax in Historical Analysis* (London 1992), p. 276.

⁴⁸. J. Gibson, M. Medlycott and D. Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments* (Birmingham, 1993, 2nd edn 1998).

⁴⁹. Morrell, *Selby*, p. 331; cf. Mui and Mui, *Shops and Shopkeeping*, pp. 40, 91, 93 and 109.

⁵⁰. For the Window Tax and the Assessed Taxes generally see Bellingham, 'Four Small Towns in Yorkshire', pp. 336–48.

⁵¹. W. R. Ward, *The Administration of the Window Tax and Assessed Taxes 1696–1798* (London, 1963); M. Medlycott, 'The Window Tax: A Survey of Holdings in Britain', *Genealogists' Magazine*, 24.5 (1993), pp. 186–89; Gibson, Medlycott and Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*.

and in the township. The duplication and difficulties of identification inherent in the Land Tax returns are therefore avoided. Secondly the number of windows listed is, by and large, factually correct whereas, as time passed, the land tax assessments bore less and less relationship to the value of the property concerned.⁵²

The survival rate for Window Tax assessments in England is relatively low, unlike that for Land Tax returns, whose much higher survival rate between 1780 and 1832 is due to their retention in Quarter Session records because they established voting qualifications. Gibson and Medlycott have listed those Window Tax assessments that were known to have survived but there are undoubtedly others.⁵³

The survival of the copy of the Selby return for the Window and Assessed Taxes for 1788 is of particular importance in that it includes the short lived Shop Tax (1785–88). Very few urban returns appear to have survived that cover this tax.⁵⁴ One that does is the 1788 return for Ipswich, although the occupation of the occupiers is not given. Another is for Doncaster where many occupations are shown.⁵⁵

The precise format of the assessments may well have depended on the whim of those preparing them. The 1788 return was the first surviving Selby return to be made on a printed form and that form may have been locally generated since it made provision for the profession of the tax payer to be entered, whereas the one used at Ipswich did not. It is particularly fortunate that the Selby return for 1788 gives the 'Profession' of the named occupiers. It is shown for about 350 economically active heads of households, thirteen of them women.⁵⁶

Those classed as 'poor', i.e. not paying the local poor or church rates, were exempt from the Window Tax. At Selby the number of windows of the houses they occupied was not usually shown, nor was it shown for those occupying properties with fewer than ten windows before 1773. Until 1788 it is unusual for the same name to appear twice in a Selby assessment but in the 1788 assessment some 'tenements' were listed with the name of the owner appearing and not the occupier.

Inhabited Houses or Commutation Tax

This tax was again based on the number of windows and is therefore not considered further here.

Inhabited Houses Tax

In contrast to the two taxes based on windows, this tax was based on an assessed annual rental value. At Selby in 1788 no property with fewer than six windows was assessed for this tax and only 13 per cent of those with six to eight windows inclusive. Of those with nine to twelve windows 77 per cent were assessed and 100 per cent of those with thirteen windows or more. In 1788 the tax was levied at 6d. in the £ on properties with annual value of £5 or over, other than owner-occupied farmhouses with a rental value of £10 and over. In practice no Selby farmhouses appear to have been assessed for this tax.

⁵². For the Land Tax see *Land and Property: The English Land Tax 1692–1832*, ed. M. Turner and D. Mills (Gloucester, 1986), and Ginter, *Measure of Wealth*.

⁵³. Gibson, Medlycott and Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*.

⁵⁴. See Gibson, Medlycott and Mills, *Land and Window Tax Assessments*.

⁵⁵. Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich return for Window and Assessed Taxes 1788 C10/1/110. Doncaster Archives Department, Doncaster return for Window and Assessed Taxes 1788 AB6/2/16.

⁵⁶. The Selby form does not give the name of the printer. The Ipswich return is entitled 'Punchard and Jermyn's complete Assessors and Collectors Duplicates for the several duties on Houses, Window Lights, Inhabited Houses, Retail Shops, Marriages, Servants etc'.

*Shop Tax*⁵⁷

This tax was levied from 1785 until 1788 and was chargeable on a place used as a shop only, or on a house or building any part of which was used as a shop, where the annual rental value was £5 or over. (Warehouses in separate buildings, where goods were sold by wholesale only, and bakers were specifically not chargeable).⁵⁸ Thus the amount of the tax relates to the value of the property as a whole rather than the retail element. If a property was assessed at £5 or more under the Inhabited Houses Tax, but was not assessed for Shop Tax, it can be assumed that the assessors accepted the occupier was not engaged in retail trade. That the assessment for Shop Tax related to the value of the premises concerned, rather than to the level of retail activity, appears not to have been fully appreciated by Mitchell. At Selby in 1788 twenty-seven properties were assessed for Shop Tax in the £5 to £10 bracket and four in the £10 to £15 bracket. There were four higher brackets but no Selby properties were assessed at those levels.

One can safely say that a payment listed in the returns at the Public Record Office of 3s. (£0.150) or less represents a single shop, that one between 3s. 4d. (£0.167) and 4s. 10d. (£0.242) represents two shops and that one between 5s. (£0.250) and 6s. 4d. (£0.317) represents two or three shops. With slightly less confidence a payment between 6s. 8d. (£0.333) and 8s. (£0.400) probably represents three or four shops and one for 8s. 4d. (£0.417) between three and five shops. But it gets increasingly difficult thereafter. The £4 9s. 6d. (£4.475) paid for Selby in fact represented thirty-one shops, but that figure could have covered more or fewer shops. Further, the tax was levied on premises with a rental value of £5 or more, from which retail sales were made. Thus the size of the Shop Tax payment is not a conclusive indication of the extent of retail trade. This is clear from the Selby assessment.

^{57.} 25 Geo III c.30 and 26 Geo III c.9.

^{58.} 25 Geo III c.30 sections 7 and 8.

JAMES JEPSON BINNS: A YORKSHIRE ORGAN-BUILDER

By Kenneth C. Jackson

1. INTRODUCTION

This article is prompted by a set of papers contained in the records of the Parish Church of St Stephen at Steeton, near Keighley, West Yorkshire, now housed in the Bradford District Archives.¹ The church was completed in April 1881 to the designs of T. H. & F. Healey of Bradford² and the papers relate to the commissioning of a new organ. The project was assigned to a committee under the leadership of Thomas Bairstow, a member of a prominent family of corn millers with mills in Keighley, Steeton and Sutton-in-Craven. In accordance with the usual practice, quotations were sought from several organ-builders and advice was taken from appropriate experts. The commission was finally awarded to James Jepson Binns of Leeds and the organ was opened in November 1882.³

Binns had been in business only since January 1880,⁴ yet he won the commission in the face of competition from six other firms, including several of the leading Yorkshire organ-builders of the day. He went on to achieve an international reputation as a designer and builder of pipe organs, and the correspondence from Binns contained in the Steeton parish records gives an insight into the artistic and technical principles on which his future success was to be based. Especially notable is his enthusiasm for the work of the German organ-builders, J. F. Schulze & Sons, who completed important and influential commissions in England between 1851 and 1879.⁵

Purchasing a new organ then, as now, was an expensive undertaking requiring expert advice from third parties. The Steeton papers have additional interest in that they demonstrate how such help was obtained in an era pre-dating the appointment of diocesan organ advisors. In this particular case, surprisingly, a social contact arising from a shared interest in mountain climbing appears to have been instrumental in obtaining the necessary expertise.

2. COMMERCIAL CONTEXT

The Census of Religious Worship taken in 1851 identified 3556 churches and chapels in the whole of Yorkshire, of which 52 per cent were Methodist and 31 per cent Anglican.⁶ The number rose significantly over the next sixty years in line with increases in church membership and attendance, which, in turn, were linked with the growth of population.⁷ For instance, within the geographical area which later made up the Anglican Diocese of

¹ West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, St Stephen's Parish Records, Steeton, 77D92/4/11.

² *Craven Herald*, 30 Apr. 1881.

³ *Keighley News*, 25 Nov. 1882.

⁴ A. Godfrey, 'The late James Jepson Binns and his work in the Hartlepoons', *The Organ*, 32 (1953-54), p. 123.

⁵ See N. Thistlethwaite, *The Making of the Victorian Organ* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 383-88.

⁶ *Report on the Census of Religious Worship in England and Wales, 1851*, Parliamentary Papers, 1852-53, LXXXIX, p. cxcii.

⁷ A. D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London, 1976), pp. 23-50.

Bradford, some seventy-five new churches were opened between 1852 and 1914, while others were extended or completely rebuilt.⁸

By the mid-nineteenth century almost all Christian denominations had accepted the organ as the principal means for providing music in worship and, except for the smallest ones, most churches and chapels owned an organ or hoped to do so. Although places of worship created most of the demand for organs, there was also a healthy secular demand for instruments for use in public halls and for large private residences. The supply of new and second-hand organs and rebuilding work, together with tuning and maintenance, stimulated the emergence of a prosperous organ-building trade in the large towns of northern England. The 1875 edition of the *Royal National Directory* names twenty-five such firms in Yorkshire, located mainly in Leeds, Bradford, Huddersfield, Sheffield, York, Doncaster and Hull.⁹ Others are known to have existed at this time, although they did not advertise in the directories. In addition, there was a number of specialist suppliers to the trade, particularly pipe makers.¹⁰ Most firms were comparatively small, but others, notably Brindley & Foster of Sheffield and Forster & Andrews of Hull, were large enough to supply organs nationally and internationally as well as to local customers.

The market in which these firms operated was highly competitive, and rivals from other parts of the country were always willing to supply customers in Yorkshire. Thus at York Minster in 1829–33 and again in 1859, and at Leeds Town Hall in 1859, the fashionable London firms Elliot & Hill (later Hill & Son) and Gray & Davison, respectively, were awarded the contracts.¹¹ Demand was also very cyclical and this necessitated the utmost skill in the management of working capital. Such was the commercial environment into which James Jepson Binns launched his business.

3. BIOGRAPHICAL

J. J. Binns was born in Leeds in 1855. At the age of eleven he joined the local organ-builders, Radcliffe & Sagar, as an apprentice, and after seven years he became a tuner and pipe-voicer with Abbott & Co., also of Leeds.¹² This firm was formed by Isaac Abbott in 1869 and, in common with several other Yorkshire organ-builders, they claimed an adherence to the principles brought to England by the Schulze family.¹³ On the strength of these experiences Binns launched his own business in 1880.

Theodore Brocklehurst, the controversial Vicar of Giggleswick, writing in 1929, related how Binns, while working for Isaac Abbott, was responsible for tuning a Schulze chamber organ at the home of J. W. Broughton, the chorus master of Leeds Musical Festival. It seems that Broughton was so impressed by Binns's work that he challenged him to reproduce a single pipe from the Schulze organ, making it of such quality that it could not be distinguished from the original. Binns was successful, with the result that Broughton used his influence in Leeds society to obtain financial backers so that the young organ-builder could establish himself in business.¹⁴ Another biographer, writing in 1953, claimed that William Spark, the Leeds Borough Organist, delivered a similar challenge. Binns responded to his satisfaction, and was awarded a contract for a chamber organ for Spark's

⁸. Compiled from A. Hansen, *One Small Corner: A History of the Bradford Diocese* (Bradford, 1994), pp. 193–202.

⁹. Compiled from Isaac Slater, *Royal National Directory of Yorkshire* (Manchester, 1875).

¹⁰. See L. Elvin, *Family Enterprise: The Story of some North Country Organ Builders* (Lincoln, 1986).

¹¹. Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, pp. 118–27, 284–91, 495–97.

¹². L. Elvin, *Pipes and Actions: Some Organ Builders in the Midlands and Beyond* (Lincoln, 1995), p. 387.

¹³. The firm continued as Abbott & Smith on the founder's retirement.

¹⁴. T. P. Brocklehurst, 'James Jepson Binns: an Appreciation', *The Organ*, 9 (1929–30), p. 54.

home, although it is said that because Mrs Spark took exception, the instrument was installed at Emmanuel Church in Leeds.¹⁵

Whether these were separate incidents or different anecdotes based on the same event is not at all clear. However, Binns’s ability as a young man to impress other discerning musicians, including R. S. Burton, organist of Leeds Parish Church, and F. W. Hird, organist of St Peter’s, Bramley, is beyond dispute. Between his debut in 1880 and his death in 1929, he designed and built organs for church and for secular use in locations throughout Great Britain as well as developing a significant export trade. As with most organ-builders, many commissions were for small instruments such as the two-manual and pedal organ with twelve speaking stops supplied to the Wesleyan chapel in Settle in 1900.¹⁶ At the other extreme was the widely acclaimed four-manual and pedal instrument with fifty-nine speaking stops for the Albert Hall in Nottingham, dating from 1909.¹⁷ Binns was also awarded the contract for rebuilding the large and prestigious Schulze organ at St Bartholomew’s, Armley, Leeds, a task which was completed in 1905.¹⁸ Furthermore, as described below, the papers dealing with the commission at Steeton suggest a much earlier association with this organ, in the immediate aftermath of its transfer to Armley from Harrogate in 1879.

4. PROPOSALS FOR THE STEETON ORGAN

As mentioned earlier, the committee appointed to commission the building of an organ for Steeton Parish Church had a wide choice of possible suppliers from within the region. Quotations were sought from seven firms, all of which were asked to work within a budget of £360. Responses were received during August 1881. These are summarised in the table below. For ease of analysis, this shows the number of registers (or speaking stops) proposed by each builder, together with the cost per register.

TABLE 1: Quotations for an organ at Steeton Parish Church, August 1881

<i>Firm</i>	<i>Registers</i>	<i>Total Cost</i>	<i>Cost per Register</i>
J. J. Binns, Leeds (First Quotation)	19	£360	£18-94
J. J. Binns, Leeds (Second Quotation)	21	N/A	N/A
J. J. Binns, Leeds (As Installed)	23	£400	£17-39
John Laycock, Glusburn, Keighley	22	£360	£16-36
Driver & Lupton, Keighley	21	£360	£17-14
Forster & Andrews, Hull	15	£360	£24-00
Brindley & Foster, Sheffield	14	£360	£25-71
Isaac Abbott (Abbott & Co.), Leeds	13	£360	£27-69
Wordsworth & Maskell, Leeds	17	£410	£24-11

It should be noted that cost per register is an imperfect indicator of value for money, because it ignores quality considerations and does not take into account differences in tonal structure. For example, to reduce the cost of an instrument, two registers may share a common set of pipes in the bottom octave. Alternatively, the bottom octave may be omitted in certain instances. In addition, the cost of some registers is inherently greater than the cost of others because of differences in the type of material or the level of craftsmanship involved in producing the pipes.

¹⁵. Godfrey, *The Organ*, 32, p. 127.
¹⁶. H. Longbottom, *St John’s Methodist Church, Settle, 1893–1993* (Settle, 1993), p. 15.
¹⁷. Elvin, *Pipes and Actions*, pp. 387–89.
¹⁸. K. I. Johnstone, *The Armley Schulze Organ* (Leeds, 1978), p. 33.

The calculations given above do not take account of factors such as these. However, it is clear that the quotations fall into two distinct groups on a value for money basis. The more expensive are from Forster & Andrews, Brindley & Foster, Abbott & Co., and Wordsworth & Maskell, all of them falling in the range £24 to £28 per register.¹⁹ By 1880 these were well established provincial builders supplying modern instruments in comparatively large numbers. The first three — and perhaps all four — could also claim the advantage of some degree of first-hand association with Edmund Schulze, whose work in England for the family business in Germany had aroused considerable interest. Nominally, the specifications submitted from all except Forster & Andrews reflect this influence, particularly through the inclusion, on the Swell division, of delicately voiced *Lieblich Flutes*, these being one of the characteristic registers of Schulze's organs. Abbott & Co.'s specification was the most convincing in this respect because it offered a chorus of these stops at 16-foot, 8-foot and 4-foot pitches. Brindley & Foster's proposal was of interest because of its reference to a *Vox Angelica*, which is a string-toned stop with a pronounced undulation.²⁰ This also was used by Schulze and subsequently became a distinguishing feature of Binns's work, although it was not adopted for the organ at Steeton. It must be appreciated, however, that although these builders claimed to simulate the work of Schulze, it is impossible to say how close their efforts may have come.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the committee at Steeton rejected these quotations and concentrated instead on the cheaper proposals. The submission from Binns was given particular attention and was subsequently adopted in a modified form. John Laycock's quotation, also, was given serious attention, but nothing more is heard of Driver & Lupton's suggestions.

Laycock was a local organ-builder, working from a farm property at West Closes near Glusburn in the parish of Kildwick and only a few miles from Steeton. He had a solid reputation in the district and was able to supply good quality organs at comparatively low cost, a fact which in part can be explained by his low overheads. However, by this time, the tonal design of his organs was somewhat dated. In spite of this, he was selected to build the new organ for the parish church at Bolton Priory in 1880, a prestigious commission, financed by the Duke of Devonshire and supervised by William Spark, the Leeds Borough Organist.²¹ The specification submitted to the committee by Laycock was almost identical to that of an instrument which he supplied in 1879 to the Parish Church of Sabden, near Burnley, where it is still greatly admired.²² A substantial instrument was proposed, although one which owed nothing, tonally, to contemporary German romantic influences.

Binns submitted at least three proposals. Although the first is undated, from the context it is safe to assume that it arrived in August 1881 along with those from the other builders. A modified version was received the following month, and this included two additional speaking stops. The final version, forming the specification for the instrument as built, included two further speaking stops, giving twenty-three in total. The final expenditure

¹⁹. To place these amounts in a wider context, note the case of the new organ for the parish church at Gisburn near Skipton, supplied in 1875 by the notable London builder, T. C. Lewis, to the requirements of the music publisher, J. T. Hopwood of Bracewell Hall, Barnoldswick. The local newspaper described this instrument as 'very highly finished, the organ being very different from those generally seen in country churches'. Although modest in size, the cost per register for the complete instrument was £39. Only the Great and Pedal divisions were installed initially. (See *Craven Herald*, 7 Aug. 1875.)

²⁰. Brindley & Foster quoted for an organ in which this stop was 'prepared for'. This implies that the mechanism would be installed but not the pipework, which would be supplied later at additional cost. Specifications set out in this way may, at first sight, appear to be more impressive than is actually the case.

²¹. K. C. Jackson, 'John Laycock of West Closes: a Country Organ Builder', *Organists' Review*, 87.4 (Nov. 2001).

²². Private communication with Mr J. F. Mead, organist of Sabden Parish Church.

was £400, which was £40 over budget, although the cost per register was less than originally anticipated.

The specification as finally installed is shown in the Appendix. It offers a wide range of tonal effects with well developed choruses, each made up of several comparable registers sounding at different pitches. Unlike his competitors, Binns incorporated two Open Diapason stops on the Great organ, both of 8-foot pitch, but with different dynamic intensities. Edmund Schulze was highly regarded for the quality of his diapasons and, in particular, for his ability to produce bold effects with ample harmonic content. This earned the admiration of Yorkshire organ-builders and their clients and, in these quarters, a preponderance of diapason tone at 8-foot pitch became an essential requirement.²³ 'Grave' and 'dignified' are adjectives which express something of the late Victorian expectation of church organs and this was associated especially with diapason tone, a state of affairs which changed markedly during the mid-twentieth century when 'brightness' and 'brilliance' were more highly prized attributes.²⁴

The specification contains a chorus of Lieblich Flutes on the Swell division, while another feature borrowed from Schulze is the introduction of string-toned stops in the Pedal organ. Typically, small- to medium-sized instruments during this period, and for many years afterwards, relied largely on a dull, flute-like Bourdon as the main register on this division. The use of string tones presented the opportunity to improve the clarity of the pedal part. Brightness was introduced by providing a Mixture stop on the Swell organ and Twelfth and Fifteenth sounding registers on the Great organ. However, the latter was a response to a request from the committee at Steeton after taking advice from a third party, rather than an attempt to copy Schulze.

As the specifications developed, German rather than English nomenclature was substituted for two stops. Thus a Stopped Diapason in the first specification became a Gedact and the Gamba was renamed as a Geigen Principal. It is impossible to say whether these were substantive changes or mere affectations.

Finally, two further aspects of Binns's submissions should be noted. The first is his insistence on the use of good quality timber. He stated in his first specification that no paint was to be used on any wooden components, claiming that not only was paint detrimental to the tone of the instrument, but also that the quality of the timber would be obscured. Secondly, he stated that the organ would be fitted with pallets of his own design. These were intended to make the instrument easier to play by creating a lighter touch.²⁵

In so far as one can judge from documentary sources alone, in supplying a new organ for Steeton Parish Church, Binns made a coherent attempt to apply Schulze's ideals in the context of a smaller instrument for a less affluent market sector.

5. THE INFLUENCE OF EDMUND SCHULZE

At this stage it is appropriate to explain in more detail why and how Binns and others became susceptible to German romantic influences. Thistlethwaite²⁶ regards this as a

²³ W. L. Sumner, 'The Schulze Family', II, *The Organ*, 37 (1957-58), p. 97.

²⁴ R. Clark, 'Some Reflections on Small Organ Design, 1855-1949', *Journal of the British Institute of Organ Studies*, 22 (1998), pp. 28-39. See also C. Clutton and A. Niland, *The British Organ* (London, 1963), p. 99, where the authors, while discussing Edmund Schulze, refer, with regret, to 'a taste for powerful diapasons which was to bedevil practically all British work for the next hundred years'. Schulze's instruments are now once again highly regarded, although not necessarily as models for contemporary organ design.

²⁵ It is not clear whether this is a reference to relief pallets or to some form of pneumatic assistance, both of which were popular at the time. Schulze used Barker's lever pneumatic action on several of his organs. However, the need for such refinements on a comparatively small organ is perhaps debatable.

²⁶ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, pp. 374-76.

response to the inadequacies of many contemporary English organ-builders. He cites as his main criticisms their conservatism and lack of awareness of artistic developments on the Continent; the poor quality and inadequate power of their diapason stops by contemporary standards; their poor workmanship; and their desire to impress church organ committees by offering as many stops as possible for a given price. Adoption of the Schulze approach offered a way of countering these perceptions of English organ-building.

However, when seeking inspiration from abroad, other models were to hand, most notably the work of the Parisian organ-builder, Aristide Cavaillé-Coll, who by the mid-nineteenth century had carried out prestigious commissions throughout France.²⁷ His work in England extended to clients in Yorkshire and included an organ for the Albert Hall in Sheffield (destroyed by fire in 1937) and a large house organ for the music publisher, J. T. Hopwood, at Bracewell Hall near Barnoldswick. The latter dates from 1871, but was removed in 1875 to Hopwood's new home at Ketton Hall in Rutland. Since 1926 it has been located at the Parr Hall in Warrington. Tonally, Cavaillé-Coll's organs were quite unlike those of J. F. Schulze & Sons, and, although they appear to have made a significant impact on organ-builders in Lancashire, they were less influential in Yorkshire.²⁸

The Schulze firm made its debut in England at the Great Exhibition of 1851 but its *magnum opus* was the instrument for St George's Parish Church, Doncaster, completed in 1862 by Edmund Schulze.²⁹ Thistlethwaite³⁰ lists other commissions in Yorkshire as follows:

- 1862 Leeds Parish Church (modifications to the existing organ)
- 1862 Christ Church, Doncaster
- 1869 Meanwood Towers, Leeds (house organ)
- 1879 St Peter's, Harrogate

To this can be added the chamber organ mentioned earlier belonging to J. W. Broughton, the chorus master of the Leeds Musical Festival. It will be recalled that Binns is claimed to have tuned this organ when working for Isaac Abbott. Two other Schulze organs are mentioned in the Steeton papers. The first, referred to in a letter from Binns to Thomas Bairstow, is another house organ which Binns himself claims to have erected for Henry William Eyres at his London home.³¹ Eyres was the benefactor who financed the installation of the Schulze organ at St Bartholomew's, Armley. The other, mentioned in a note from William Cecil Slingsby of Carleton, near Skipton, to Thomas Bairstow, is described as a large three-manual organ at the home of F. W. Hird, the organist of St Peter's, Bramley.³² It is surprising that these, and particularly the latter, have not previously been noted in the literature on Schulze's instruments.

Elaboration is needed on the 1869 commission at Meanwood Towers. The history of this organ has been documented, very fully, by Johnstone.³³ It originated as a house organ built for the businessman, Thomas Stuart Kennedy, with his wife's musical interests in mind. It was moved in 1877 to St Peter's Parish Church in Harrogate where it remained for only two years, after which it was replaced by a smaller Schulze instrument more appropriate to the size of the building. In 1879 it was re-erected in St Bartholomew's,

²⁷ See the listings in F. Douglass, *Cavaillé-Coll and the French Romantic Tradition* (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 177–80.

²⁸ W. L. Sumner, 'The Cavaillé-Coll Organ in the Parr Hall, Warrington', *The Organ*, 34 (1954), pp. 80–84.

²⁹ Thistlethwaite, *Victorian Organ*, p. 383.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 533–34.

³¹ WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, undated.

³² WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, postmarked 20 Sept. 1881.

³³ Johnstone, *Armley Schulze*.

Armley, where it remains. Binns, by then an established organ-builder of note, rebuilt the instrument in 1905. However, in letters to Thomas Bairstow concerning the Steeton quotation, he states that he carried out remedial work to the Armley organ shortly after its installation there by Brindley & Foster of Sheffield. He also stated that he introduced a new diapason stop of his own design to the instrument at about this time.³⁴ These are claims to which Johnstone does not refer. The Steeton correspondence is discussed more fully below.

In summary, Schulze organs were known for bold, powerful diapasons, soft strings and flutes, and high quality materials and workmanship. A key factor in the success of these organs was the adoption of a system for determining the diameter of the pipes in each rank (a major determinant of dynamic intensity), which would ensure that the bass notes were not too bold and the treble notes were not too soft. The approach was based on the pipe-scaling theory of Gottlob Töpfer, who, in essence, prescribed that, proceeding from bass to treble, pipe *diameters* should halve on every seventeenth note. This contrasts with pipe *length* (the determinant of pitch), which always halves every octave.³⁵ Töpfer's pipe scales became well established amongst Yorkshire organ builders. However, the sound of an organ is a function not only of mathematical formulations but also of the artistry of the pipe-voicer. In this respect, Edmund Schulze had many disciples but few equals. Even so, Binns, as an experienced voicer, was keenly aware of the required combination of objectivity and artistry in voicing organ pipes. Indeed, he was not afraid of telling potential clients of his own achievements as well as extolling the virtues of Edmund Schulze. The following extract from one of his own advertising leaflets, printed at the start of his independent career, demonstrates this enthusiasm.³⁶

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS

Mr Binns (who is a young and rising Organ Builder) has already acquired some reputation among the leading Musicians of the town, having made diapasons which quite successfully, in the opinion of connoisseurs, have stood the ordeal of being placed alongside those of Herr Shultze [*sic*]

— *Musical Standard*

All my Voicing is strictly on Herr Shultze's [*sic*] principle (the great German Genius).

Whether Binns did actually carry out work for Edmund Schulze, or for that matter whether he was even known to Schulze, is unclear. Binns stops short of suggesting this in his correspondence with Thomas Bairstow. He was, of course, only a child when the Doncaster organ was built and when work was carried out at Leeds Parish Church. When Schulze was back in Leeds working on the Meanwood Towers commission, Binns was in his early teens. On the other hand, he was a man of experience and growing reputation when the new organ was erected in Harrogate and its predecessor taken to Armley. It is therefore possible that he knew Edmund Schulze immediately before his death in 1878 and also Eduard Schulze, who then finalised the work at Armley in parallel with Brindley & Foster.³⁷

If his interaction with members of the Schulze family was only of a very limited kind, he would none the less be familiar with the work of Forster & Andrews, for whom Edmund Schulze had a high regard.³⁸ He would also have experienced the output of Brindley & Foster, at least so far as their efforts at Armley are concerned, although in a

³⁴. WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, undated and 10 Sept. 1881.

³⁵. Sumner, *The Organ*, 37, p. 10.

³⁶. WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, advertising leaflet enclosed with an undated letter to Thomas Bairstow.

³⁷. Johnstone, *Armley Schulze*, p. 28.

³⁸. See L. Elvin, *Forster & Andrews, Organ Builders* (Lincoln, 1968).

letter to Thomas Bairstow he was scathing in his criticism of their workmanship.³⁹ Both of these firms regarded themselves as disciples of Schulze.

Above all he would develop a familiarity through his employer, Isaac Abbott, who was another follower of Schulze. Furthermore, as mentioned previously, it was while working for Isaac Abbott that Binns had first-hand experience of J. W. Broughton's Schulze chamber organ. Whether he erected the Schulze organ for Henry William Eyres during this period, or whether the commission was carried out during his early months as an independent organ-builder, is not clear. Eyres died in 1881 at the age of 23.⁴⁰

It is more than likely that R. S. Burton was another important influence. Burton was the organist of Leeds Parish Church when Edmund Schulze carried out work there. He also played the opening recitals on the Schulze organs at St Peter's, Harrogate, and at St Bartholomew's, Armley, as well as acting as musical advisor for the latter to Henry William Eyres.⁴¹ Elvin has reproduced a most interesting photograph of R. S. Burton and Jeremiah Rogers of Doncaster Parish Church posed with Edmund Schulze, and this bears out the direct association between these individuals.⁴² A letter from Binns to Thomas Bairstow confirms that Burton and Binns were closely associated and that, in fact, it was Burton who drew up Binns's initial scheme for the Steeton organ. Binns also states that it was Burton who requested him to carry out the remedial work on the Armley organ.⁴³

F. W. Hird, the owner of the three-manual Schulze house organ, was another collaborator, and the correspondence with Thomas Bairstow points out that Binns had provided new flute and diapason registers for the instrument at St Peter's, Bramley, where Hird was then the organist.⁴⁴ Binns also points out that it might be appropriate to furnish this instrument with a battery of four diapasons on the Great organ. This would have been a most lavish provision even for a large parish church organ.⁴⁵

Finally, another important opinion leader, by his actions if not by his words, was Edmund Schulze's patron, Thomas Stuart Kennedy of Meanwood Towers. Johnstone states that Kennedy was a partner in the firm of Fairburn, Kennedy & Naylor, engineers of Wellington Foundry in Leeds. Kennedy and his friend, the physician Thomas Clifford Allbutt, were both active members of the Alpine Club. Following a climbing trip to Switzerland in 1866 they made a visit to the Schulze workshop at Paulinzella near Weimar, which resulted in Edmund Schulze renewing his connection with Yorkshire to carry out the Meanwood Towers commission. Undoubtedly, this visit reinforced the existing susceptibility of the Yorkshire organ-builders to German influences. These were lasting influences, and it is inconceivable that J. J. Binns, as an aspiring organ-builder during the 1870s, could have ignored them.⁴⁶

6. THE STEETON CORRESPONDENCE

The first letter from Binns to Thomas Bairstow arrived with the first of the proposed specifications for the new organ. It is undated but almost certainly was received in August 1881. The committee had evidently been in touch with R. S. Burton, and Binns indicated that his submission was made at Burton's request. How this contact came about is not explained, although the notion that Burton was retained as an advisor by the Steeton

³⁹ WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, undated.

⁴⁰ Johnstone, *Armley Schulze*, p. 28.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 28, 29.

⁴² Elvin, *Family Enterprise*, p. 183.

⁴³ WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, undated.

⁴⁴ WYAS, Bradford, 77D92/4/11, 10 Sept. 1881.

⁴⁵ WYAS Bradford, 77D92/4/11, 15 Sept. 1881.

⁴⁶ Johnstone, *Armley Schulze*, pp. 5-9.

committee can be dismissed, for as the letter points out, it was Burton who drew up Binns's scheme. He then, quite properly, played no further part by way of comparing the merits of this scheme with those of the submissions from the other organ-builders.

The letter alludes to Binns's first-hand experience of the Schulze organ at Armley stating that he was called in by Burton to finish the organ 'after the disgraceful manner which Messrs Brindley & Forsters [*sic*] left it'. Following his ministrations it evidently 'gave great satisfaction'.⁴⁷ It is in this letter that Binns also mentions that he erected the Schulze organ at Henry William Eyres's London residence. Finally, he claims to have studied Schulze's approach to pipe-voicing and states that he had details of Schulze's pipe scales (although he was by no means the only Yorkshire organ-builder who could make such a claim).

From the context of Binns's next letter, it seems that the committee had considered his submission and then asked for some amendments. It is not clear on whose advice they were acting. Binns replied on 10 September agreeing to provide a revised specification. He also asked to see the architects' plans for the casework of the organ.⁴⁸ He went on to provide further unsolicited, but helpful testimonials. These drew attention first to the enlargement and revoicing of the organ at St James's, Woodside, Horsforth, and secondly to the tonal changes to the organ at St Peter's, Bramley, carried out under the supervision of F. W. Hird. He offered to show Thomas Bairstow the work which he had completed on these organs. He then candidly admitted that having only been in business for (less than) two years, he had not yet completed any new organs, although one was in the course of construction for a chapel in Leeds. He appealed for support and promised to do a good job.

Binns sent off the revised specification, with a covering note, on 12 September. He followed this up with a further, undated, letter reiterating his commitment to high quality materials and workmanship and stating that he intended the Steeton instrument to be a sample organ (presumably one which he could use to display his capabilities to potential clients). He offered a completion date of September 1882. The advertising leaflet from which extracts were quoted above was enclosed with this letter.

Thomas Bairstow must have replied promptly to the offer of a demonstration, and in a letter dated 15 September Binns agreed to meet him the following Tuesday. He promised to take him to St Peter's, Bramley, where he thought that he would be able to give some idea of how the proposed Steeton organ would sound. Binns was also keen to explain his idea to equip the Bramley organ with four diapasons and he ended the letter by stating that diapasons 'are the most expensive stops . . . and they are the very soul of an organ'.

In the meantime, independent advice was considered necessary, and for this Thomas Bairstow turned to William Cecil Slingsby of Carleton, near Skipton. Slingsby was a member of a local cotton-manufacturing family, but was better known as an accomplished climber and mountaineer. He was a prominent member of the Alpine Club and became a specialist on Norway.⁴⁹ In addition, he was amongst the pioneers of rock-climbing in the English Lake District.⁵⁰ He was also the organist of St Mary's Parish Church in

⁴⁷ Johnstone, pp. 28–29, describes a specific problem with Brindley & Foster's work, but the complaint mentioned in the letter seems to be more wide-ranging.

⁴⁸ The design of organ cases can be carried out by organ-builders or architects. In this case the architects designed a case with elaborate Gothic styling to match the rest of the building.

⁴⁹ *Craven Pioneer*, 28 Oct. 1876; *Craven Herald*, 30 Aug. 1929.

⁵⁰ See O. G. Jones, *Rock Climbing in the English Lake District* (Keswick, 1900), p. 75.

Carleton.⁵¹ It is not clear why he was approached. The correspondence between Slingsby and Bairstow, although friendly and cooperative, betrays no sign of an existing relationship. However, Slingsby seems already to have been acquainted with F. W. Hird, and it is therefore possible that he was nominated by Binns, on the recommendation of Hird. There is the further question of how Slingsby's relationship with Hird had come about. The most obvious hypothesis is that a shared interest in climbing and the Alpine Club was the basis of an introduction to Thomas Stuart Kennedy and Thomas Clifford Allbutt, and thereby to the musical élite of Leeds.

William Cecil Slingsby wrote to Thomas Bairstow on 13 September with an invitation to visit him in Carleton and to stay overnight so that they might have adequate time for discussion. The following is an extract:

Though of course only an amateur, I am very fond of organs, and naturally have picked up a good deal of wrinkles about them, and I shall have the very greatest pleasure in giving you any hints and information that I can about the subject

Thomas Bairstow lost no time in taking up this invitation and he came away with a list of questions and comments which he noted on the back of one of the letters from Binns. Amongst them was a suggestion that a Fifteenth sounding register should be included on the Great organ (the suggestion was adopted) while the other matters were mainly points of clarification. In 1875 Brindley & Foster supplied an organ with German features to St Mary's, Carleton, and Thomas Bairstow noted its specification on the reverse of that firm's proposal for Steeton Parish Church. However, there is no suggestion that he was seriously considering Brindley & Foster's quotation, which was amongst the more expensive.⁵²

Subsequently, Slingsby wrote to Hird at his address in Woodhouse Square, Leeds, to seek his opinion of Binns. The reply dated 19 September gave a glowing report, as follows:

I can with confidence recommend Binns as an organ builder.

I have seen a great deal of his work and should not hesitate if I were having an instrument built for myself to entrust it to him. His diapason tone comes in my opinion nearer to Schulze than any other I have heard, and in the gedacts and delicate stops he is equally accomplished. In the mechanism [*sic*] and all minor details, he is very skilful [*sic*] and painstaking and certainly most reasonable in his price.

Slingsby posted this letter to Thomas Bairstow on 20 September. In a covering note he described F. W. Hird as 'a very good authority' and reminded Bairstow that Hird was the owner of a three-manual Schulze house organ. Slingsby concluded that the Binns organ was of greater merit than the one proposed by Laycock, which was another in the less expensive group. However, he emphasised the need for the addition of a Fifteenth sounding rank.

Binns was awarded the commission. The opening recital took place on 17 November 1882⁵³ and was given by Hird, who was now organist of the recently completed Parish Church of All Souls, Blackman Lane, Leeds.⁵⁴ Binns, himself an accomplished organist, played for the Sunday services the following day and also gave a recital. The organ continued in use until 1970 when, ironically, it was drastically rebuilt by Laycock &

⁵¹ The *Craven Almanac*, 1884, reports a presentation to Slingsby by the choir of St Mary's on 13 May 1883, suggesting that he may have resigned from the position as from that date.

⁵² The details were as published in the *Craven Pioneer*, 8 May 1875. This organ, in an augmented form, is still in regular use.

⁵³ *Keighley News*, 25 Nov. 1882. The cost was defrayed by Miss S. M. Barlow and Miss M. A. Craven of Hawcliffe near Steeton.

⁵⁴ P. Robinson, *Leeds Old and New* (Leeds, 1926), p. 81.

Bannister, successors to John Laycock, whose proposal had been rejected in favour of Binns’s submission.⁵⁵

7. CONCLUSIONS

The organ was a popular instrument during the mid-Victorian period and there was a considerable demand for new organs for use in churches, chapels and public halls. In addition, a pipe organ was an essential part of the furniture in the mansions of many upper-middle-class families, and this was a small but important sector of the market. Taste in the tonal design of organs is fickle, and during the mid-Victorian period organ-builders, professional organists and other opinion leaders were on the look-out for fresh inspiration. In Yorkshire particularly, this was satisfied to a considerable extent by the German romantic ideals which were brought to England by the Schulze family.

For a person with the appropriate technical, musical and artistic skills, entry barriers to the organ-building profession were comparatively low, and business opportunities were readily available. Involvement could extend from tuning and maintenance through to rebuilding and restoration and, ultimately, the construction of new instruments. Binns was well placed to become a successful organ-builder because not only did he possess the technical experience and the appropriate musical and artistic abilities, but he was also an effective entrepreneur. The evidence of his letters, reported above, shows that he related successfully to opinion leaders and clients and was prepared to learn from them. He was keen to demonstrate his skills and to show off his workmanship. He had a persuasive manner but was not too proud to ask for patronage and support. He also worked rapidly in responding to clients. Above all, he was a practising musician who understood the musical use of the instruments with which he became associated.

Referring to J. J. Binns, F. W. Hird wrote, ‘I quite believe that he will make his mark as an English organ builder’. These words were prophetic.

APPENDIX

J. J. Binns: Specification of the organ completed at St Stephen’s Parish Church, Steeton, November 1882 (from *Keighley News*, 25 November 1882)

Compass: Manuals C to a³ (58 notes).
Pedals C to f¹ (30 notes).

<i>Great</i>		<i>Swell</i>		<i>Pedal</i>	
Bourdon	16	Lieblich Bourdon	16	Violone	16
Large Open Diapason	8	Geigen Principal	8	Bourdon	16
Small Open Diapason	8	Dulcet	8	Violincello	8
Dolce	8	Lieblich Gedact	8		
Gedact	8	Lieblich Flute	4	<i>Couplers</i>	
Lieblich Flute	4	Principal	4		
Harmonic Flute	4	Mixture	1 1 1		Swell to Great
Principal	4	Horn	8		Great to Pedal
Twelfth	2 ² / ₃	Oboe	8		Swell to Pedal
Fifteenth	2				
Trumpet	8				

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks are due to the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Bradford, for providing access to the Steeton papers. I am also grateful to Mr Douglas Carrington of Lytham St Annes for his encouragement.

⁵⁵. J. Shearing, *St Stephen’s Parish Church, Steeton with Eastburn* (Steeton, 1981).

OBITUARY

TOM FRENCH

Thomas Worden French was born in London on 19 September 1917. After education at Dulwich College and St John's College, Cambridge, he served in the Royal Artillery during the Second World War. After brief periods with the monuments, fine arts and archives branch of the War Office and in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum, he joined the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (England) as an investigator in 1947. He came to the York office in 1954 after working on the Dorset inventory and with other members of staff was encouraged to join relevant local societies. Like his colleagues Eric Gee, Herman Ramm and John Harvey, he served on the YAS Council, in his case from 1964 to 1994, as well as on the Record Series committee until 2000. His sound advice and dry humour were appreciated there as elsewhere. His work on the City of York inventory was at first on buildings, resulting in articles on Sir Thomas Herbert's house in Pavement (*YAJ*, 39) and on St Anthony's Hall (*York Historian*, 11). He helped to found the Vernacular Architecture Group.

When the Royal Commission's attention turned to York Minster, its architecture being studied by Eric Gee and John Harvey, while the photographic staff recorded details of the fabric and the extensive excavations, Tom concentrated on the stained glass. His definitive results are contained in three impressive volumes for the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi*: the West Windows (with David O'Connor, 1987), the Great East Window (1995) and the St William Window (2000). The volume on the Minster for which he assiduously studied glass, heraldry and other features has yet to appear. These aspects of the cathedral he treated in short articles in the *Antiquaries Journal* (Vols 51 and 52), the *YAJ* (61 and 64), and the *Annual Reports of the Friends of York Minster* (1986–2000).

Tom was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1960 and was awarded an honorary doctorate of the University of York in 1997. He was also a trustee of the York Glaziers Trust and advised the Minster fabric group and the diocese. Tom died on 13 February 2001, two years after his wife Muriel (née Evans), who had long been an invalid. He is survived by their two daughters. His funeral at Clifton Parish Church, near his home on Water End, was on 26 February and attended by many friends and former colleagues, joining with family members to remember him.

York

Ronald Butler

BOOK REVIEWS

THE HISTORY OF YORK FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE YEAR 2000. Edited by PATRICK NUTTGENS. 22 x 14 cm. Pp. xiv and 402. Illus 95 (16 in colour). Blackthorn Press, Pickering, 2001. Price: £25. ISBN 0 9535072 8 9.

In one of a new series of local histories, nine contributors each have 30–60 pages to deal with a period of York's past. The best chapters are those with more space to include facts, theories and the results of the latest research, so enabling them to cover religious and political history, social developments and something on buildings and topography. Thus Richard Hall on Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Age York, Barrie Dobson on the later medieval period and Edward Royle on the nineteenth century are more satisfying than the shorter chapters, succinct and readable summaries of current knowledge though they are. These are by Patrick Ottaway (Roman), Chris Daniell (early medieval), Claire Cross (Tudor), Bill Sheils (seventeenth century) and Alison Sinclair (eighteenth century). Overlaps between chapters mean that some topics are covered twice or three times, notably by Patrick and Bridgett Nuttgens (twentieth century), who deal again with the building of the Bar Convent, The Retreat, St Wilfrid's and the Yorkshire Museum. Although most aspects of the city's history are mentioned somewhere, it would be preferable to sacrifice an amusing anecdote about Frank Green and mentions of Hans Hess's search for orgies or Tony Blair's visit for some account of how York acquired and lost the Ainsty and later incorporated surrounding villages within its bounds.

There is a well chosen collection of illustrations, but apart from the colour plates and attractive end-papers (by the editor in the style of John Piper) they suffer from over-reduction, especially maps, like that of Cossins, and engravings. The worst example is a group photo of the contributors, only 5 cm wide with faces pin-head size, contrasting with a full page for the first baby of the new millennium. Buildings which should perhaps have been illustrated are the Bar Convent and present Railway Station. Although the illustrations are numbered in the list on pages xi-xiv, these numbers do not appear in the text. In the caption to Colour Plate 4 the reconstructed view of Jorvik is looking towards the Foss not to the Roman fortress.

There is a full bibliography, but only Cross and Sheils comment on the publications cited. The index is erratic and incomplete: Purvis appears under C (for Canon) and S(ain)t follows Sp. The title on the cover differs (by adding 'Yorkshire') from that on the title page, while St Wilfrid's Church is misleadingly described as built 'of bi-coloured brick', when it is stone-faced. This book will be a useful and attractive introduction to the history of York but could have been improved by better presentation of the illustrations, a fuller index and avoidance of repetition, lapses by either the editor or the publisher.

York

Ronald Butler

LANDSCAPES, Volume 2 Number 1, Spring 2001. Edited by RICHARD MUIR. 24.5 x 18.5 cm. Pp. iv and 92. Figs 20. Pls 7. Windgather Press, Bollington, 2001. Price: £25 for 2 issues per annum. ISSN 1466-2035.

This is the third issue of a new journal edited by Richard Muir, with the support of a strong editorial board. The simple title, avoiding the qualifications which might limit its scope ('history', 'archaeology' etc.), is meant to convey the idea that the journal is open to all approaches to the subject. To judge by the titles of articles, the first two issues have been particularly concerned with symbolic landscapes or 'landscapes of the mind', an area rarely addressed in other periodicals of this type. So it is with the current issue, in which the first three articles explore this approach.

Andrew Fleming writes about perceptions of landscape on the Atlantic islands of St Kilda and Great Basket, particularly emphasising 'liminality', the boundaries between ritual no-go areas and settlements, ending with a strong plea for more research into 'holistic cosmology'.

A. J. Parker contributes a fascinating essay on maritime landscapes in south-west England as understood by sailors and fishermen. He is careful not to make too much of 'maritime consciousness', pointing out that it was governed by economic and social as well as by symbolic and ritual factors.

Professor I. G. Simmons explores the Mesolithic system of meaning in relation to the upland forest and moorland landscapes of northern England. He shows how humans modified eco-systems by taking advantage of the natural dynamics of the forest to produce a cultural construct which embraced both material and non-material elements.

As if to illustrate the breadth of the journal's approach to the subject, we are next treated to a paper by George Redmonds and David Hey on the colonisation of Scammonden (West Yorkshire) during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a thoroughly traditional piece of landscape history based on documents and maps. This article is beautifully crafted and makes an important contribution to our understanding of the final phases of high medieval upland settlement.

The next article, by Bob Bewley, provides a very useful survey of the background to and the progress of English Heritage's National Mapping Programme (NMP), which is already providing opportunities for formulating hypotheses about settlement and land-use, particularly for prehistoric periods. Finally, there is an amusing and ironic piece by Humphrey Welfare, detailing some of his own thoughts and experiences in 'reading the landscape' over many years.

The new journal's approach to the study of landscapes is amply demonstrated by the wide scope of the articles presented here, and it is clear that the editor and his team are looking forward to yet further developments. Richard Muir's editorial highlights the potential importance of genetic research which, he concludes, will eventually sweep away old nationalistic and 'invasionist' concepts. Perhaps so, although no reputable scholar for half a century or more has embraced the extreme views which Dr Muir seems to regard as still current.

The journal is nicely printed and well produced, with excellent illustrations and a short but very useful set of book reviews. The figures and plates are cross-referenced with the text, although there are a few errors. On page 44 the reference to Figure 1 should be to Plate 4 and on page 53 there is a reference to a non-existent Figure 2, which should evidently be to Plate 5.

University of Leeds

Barry Harrison

LANDSCAPE DETECTIVE: DISCOVERING A COUNTRYSIDE. By RICHARD MUIR. 24.5 x 18.5 cm. Pp. ix and 146. Figs 67. Pls 17. Windgather Press, 2001. Price: £25. ISBN 0 9538630 2 6.

Dr Muir has an enviable publications record — at least four books and half-a-dozen articles in the last five years alone. Many of these works are characterised by broad sweeps, in time and place, in which the landscapes of the Yorkshire Dales have often figured prominently. It is a hallmark of Dr Muir's work that his publications have been aimed as much at the interested amateur as at the professional reader.

In the present book, the author aims to demonstrate the techniques of what he calls a 'total landscape' approach, by focussing on a single township — Ripley in lower Nidderdale — for which there are excellent field monuments as well as extensive archive materials. Ripley is well chosen for such an analysis, since it is a good example of a fringe township, set in the intermediate zone between lowland vales and Pennine uplands — a seriously understudied type of settlement. While the analysis of Ripley is of great value, it must be said at the outset that there are some serious flaws in the organisation of the book. In the first place, Dr Muir has opted to insert an unnecessary series of do-it-yourself guides at various points in the text, rather than to let his techniques speak for themselves. Secondly, the many fine illustrations, including a series of splendid drawings and maps, are rarely located near to relevant parts of the text, nor are cross-references usually provided. This reviewer often had to search through most of the book to find an appropriate illustration, without which the detailed topographical data in the text could not be fully understood.

Finally, the manuscript sources quoted in the References at the end of each chapter are often insufficiently specific to be of much use. For example, it is often unclear which of the numerous Fountains Abbey cartularies the author is referring to.

The book is organised into five broadly chronological chapters ranging from Prehistoric and Roman times to the early nineteenth century. The first chapter deals largely with Roman roads, an intriguing and on the whole convincing reconstruction of the local pattern. The second chapter attempts to reconstitute the broad outlines of the early medieval landscape (before the twelfth century). Here an archaeological and historical analysis of the site of the original church and associated settlements is of particular value. The next two chapters, dealing with the high medieval and late medieval periods respectively, occupy over one half of the text and form the core of the book. Many years of fieldwork have yielded a formidable body of data, which Dr Muir has assembled and interpreted with consummate skill, and illustrated with a wonderful set of drawings and maps.

The precise location and form of a whole series of small earlier medieval settlements demonstrate with great clarity the essentially scattered nature of settlement in this area before (and to some extent after) the appearance of a newly-planned village in the late fourteenth century. The study of settlement history, at least in the Pennine Fringe zone, should benefit enormously from these new perspectives. The fifth and final chapter is not quite so comprehensive, dealing mostly with Ripley Castle, its park and gardens, and the rebuilding of the village by the Ingilbys in the early nineteenth century.

For all periods, Dr Muir's treatment of the field evidence is masterful and a model of its kind, but his use of literary and documentary sources leaves something to be desired. In the first place, whatever a 'total landscape approach' means, it does not seem to include the people who inhabited it. There is very little about the demography, tenurial structure and farming patterns of Ripley at any period, although sources for all these topics are relatively rich. A welcome attempt to analyse village housing in the seventeenth century, based on a survey of 1635, results in serious confusion. The author asserts (p. 112) that buildings of this period were '... generally single-storey houses built according to the techniques of medieval cruck-framing technique' (*sic*), yet of the thirty-eight houses listed in the township in 1635, only five were built of crucks and only ten were without upstairs rooms.

In his introduction (p. 2) Dr Muir issues the following warning: 'Experience also shows it to be the case that if one becomes fixated on some phenomenon or idea then one will surely discover it in the field (whether it is there or not)'. Unfortunately the author seems to succumb to a number of such fixations himself. In Chapter 2, he claims to detect (pp. 21–22) the remains of a post-Roman co-axial field system in and around Ripley. This reviewer can see no evidence for this assertion in the map presented (p. 21). Dr Muir's treatment of place- and field-name evidence is equally eccentric. He will have no truck with place-name scholars whom he describes as 'exponents of the craft [who] make choices that are partly subjective between different alternative translations of words'. The rather arrogant dismissal of a body of work which has added so much to our understanding of medieval settlement, including it seems A. H. Smith's magnificent survey of the West Riding (which finds no mention in the text or references), has resulted in a number of patently inaccurate and seriously misleading guesses as to the meaning and significance of individual field-names.

Some of the above remarks may seem niggling. Landscape 'detection' cannot be an exact science: an element of informed speculation is unavoidable and can provide valuable 'leads' for further investigation, but Dr Muir's progression from theory to fact is sometimes breathtakingly rapid. In fact on a careful examination of the whole text, the author often turns out to be a good deal more circumspect than his conclusions suggest. There does however seem to be a certain lack of academic rigour whenever the text moves away from the field-evidence which the author is so adept at recording and interpreting.

In the Introduction to the book, Dr Muir cryptically observes that 'No research centre or institution of education has any claim to credit for this publication', an indication perhaps that the author prefers to do his own thing. This book is certainly a highly individual product, but one

which might, one feels, have benefited greatly from the critical input of other scholars within the wide range of disciplines which contribute to what we call landscape history.

University of Leeds

Barry Harrison

CLOISTER, ABBOT AND PRECINCT IN MEDIEVAL MONASTERIES. By MICHAEL THOMPSON. 25 x 17 cm. Pp. 160. Illus 71. Tempus, Stroud, 2001. Price: £16.99. ISBN 0 7524 1936 6.

This modest book explores three main themes: the emergence of the cloister-based monastic plan in the early ninth century, the housing considered appropriate for the abbot, and the architecture by which the monastery protected itself from intruders or by which it proclaimed its corporate message.

After a brief exploration of monastic plans in eastern Orthodox Christianity, the author concentrates on those of western Europe and especially the cloister and abbot's house in the St Gall manuscript plan. He does not examine the western *atrium* or the courtyard villa as alternative sources of inspiration. In the opening two chapters Dr Thompson's survey of all these plans is European in its range. However the remaining three chapters are post-1066 and firmly English in scope with only occasional use of Scottish, Welsh and French examples.

The second theme is where and how the abbot was housed. The main contrast is between the west range for the Benedictines, Augustinians and some other canons, and the use of the east range mainly by the Cistercians. This theme is well described and supported by plans, photographs and an appendix. There is briefer consideration of where the abbot lived outside the abbey when he was visiting London or was staying at favoured manor houses. The safety of the abbot and his household whilst away from the abbey is also touched upon, but the main issues of security are explored in a longer chapter on the precinct. The author has little to say about the monastic precinct wall, though examples at York St Mary's with its towers and crenellations or Bury St Edmunds with its west wall visibly heightened after the 1327 riot would have strengthened his case. Instead there is a concentration upon the gatehouse as an expression of the abbot's prestige, though with little consideration of who occupied its upper floors or how the internal plan developed.

In many aspects this book is a valid synthesis of much earlier work with only Morant (1995) and Emery (1996, 2000) as recent basic publications. Dr Thompson does not enter the current debates about the use of social space or the display of architecture for symbolic purposes. However, the book does give sufficient prominence to Yorkshire examples, especially through the excavations of St John Hope and the more recent research of Glyn Coppack. Thompson's mention (p. 72) of the abbot's house at York (now The King's Manor) seems to doubt its monastic origins, which Dr Norton has carefully disentangled from later building. The comments upon the guesthouse at Kirkstall (p. 86) appear to have overlooked the northern wing of the abbot's house with its ambitious bay window (called 'Visiting Abbot's Lodging' by Hope): this is surely the late medieval expansion parallel to the ostentation visible at Castle Acre, Forde or Watton.

Two disappointing aspects of this book are the carelessness in checking the bibliography and the index, and the inaccuracy in a number of the cross-references from text to illustration. The usefulness of the numerous plans is undermined by their over-reduction, thereby preventing the detailed captions and keys from being read easily. On the whole this book can be cautiously welcomed as a general overview of abbots' housing in England.

Cambridge

Lawrence Butler

THE HISTORY OF RICHMOND. By JANE HATCHER. 21.5 x 13.5 cm. Pp. vi and 275. Illus 29. Col. pls 8. Blackthorn Press, Pickering, 2000. Price: £29.95. ISBN 0 9535072 6 2.

This attractive book is one of a new series, Blackthorn Press Local Histories, aiming to make local history 'accessible to the general reader', and Jane Hatcher has met this criterion admirably by writing a history of her adopted town which marries national context, local events, and extensive

quotations, including numerous descriptions by visitors, the whole enhanced by photographs and colour plates, including the earliest known view of the town (1639).

A first chapter sets the scene, including the story of the district before the castle and town were founded, and the author then takes the narrative in seven crisp chapters from Norman times to the year 2000. The medieval sections concentrate heavily on the castle and Honour, but from Tudor times onwards more details of townspeople and of daily life are included. Jane Hatcher has an affectionate but not uncritical eye for the town, and is for instance willing to dismiss as a 'myth' cherished local traditions of the 'Lass of Richmond Hill' — though she might have been more sceptical of that other local tall story, the alleged longevity of Henry Jenkins.

Richmond is here done justice as a fine example of a planted medieval castle-town, and one which retained considerable local importance until the nineteenth century: it had nearly 3000 inhabitants in 1801 (when Middlesbrough did not yet exist), whereas its estimated 8480 in 1999 puts it well behind the 15,000 of nearby Catterick Garrison. That very stagnation, however, allowed it to survive relatively unscathed into the age of conservation, and some heartening pages towards the end tell of the largely successful campaigns waged by the local Civic Society and others since 1967.

A few slips could usefully be corrected in any second printing, but more important is the need for a good plan to make sense of the topographical detail; the inclusion of Speed's plan of 1610, and an endpaper plan of 1724 with an illegibly reproduced key, are not satisfactory substitutes. Finally, the publishers should be urged to be more generous to their authors. The preface makes clear that they imposed a very tight time-scale and, more seriously, refused any footnotes. There is no list of illustrations, and the nine colour plates are unnumbered.

University of Leeds

D. M. Palliser

ESSAYS ON NORTHERN HISTORY IN HONOUR OF MAURICE W. BERESFORD. Edited by C. E. CHALLIS, G. C. F. FORSTER and S. J. D. GREEN. *Northern History*, vol. xxxvii, Leeds, 2000. Pp. 320. Plates, maps, tables. Price: £26 (individuals); £46 (institutions). ISBN 1 902653 33 5.

Maurice Beresford has occupied a notable position as an economic historian, the topographical awareness demonstrated by his publications earning wide respect amongst archaeologists and historical geographers, as well as historians. The editors of this collection, and the authors of its contents, have sought to reflect the range of Maurice Beresford's enquiries, as to how past landscapes were populated, how those people made their mark, and how such evidence should be interpreted. A word of caution, however: Beresford's research can, very approximately, be divided between studies of rural and urban economies, but it is towards the latter that the balance of this collection lies. The editors have made this a matter of policy, seeking to complement *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England* (ed. M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer), essays offered in 1989 to Maurice Beresford and John Hurst. Hence the present volume is, perhaps unfortunately, silent on the medieval settlements which are still, to many, the most familiar aspect of the Beresford opus.

The collection begins with an affectionate and illuminating biographical sketch by Ernest Kirkby. Maurice's no-nonsense humour is well caught, and his friends will find this record of familiar and unfamiliar detail an apt introduction to the collection. The medieval content is brief: David Hey's journey along the southern boundary of Yorkshire captures the essentials of contrasting landscapes, Pennine moors, the urban fringe of Sheffield, the rolling country of the coal measures and magnesian limestone, and the marshes of the lower Don. The late Glanville Jones contributed an account of the rise of Ripon as a town on the estate of the Archbishops of York, while Lawrence Butler gives a brief explanation of the duties of suffragan bishops in the diocese of York, adding a list of holders of office between 1185 and 1537.

A theme which emerges over much of the volume is the growth of towns in the north. In the sixteenth century, London was the magnet for the able, as illustrated by C. E. Challis, who follows Martin Bowes from York and Thomas Stanley from Dalegarth, Cumberland, to apprenticeships to London goldsmiths and prominence in the growing financial institutions of the City. However, post-medieval growth of provincial towns is demonstrated in Leeds, expanding the view of the

town set out in Beresford's *East End, West End*. There are six articles: Joan Kirby studies Richard Sykes, sixteenth-century merchant and alderman; John Chartres shows how, by the eighteenth century, the town had become a centre for trading in luxuries over the West Riding; K. Grady examines the nineteenth-century cattle and meat trades of the town; R. J. Morris shows how individual property owners could influence the shape of development in Leeds in the second quarter of the nineteenth century; S. J. D. Green studies E. S. Talbot, vicar of Leeds, 1889–95, and Katrina Honeyman examines the Leeds ready-made clothing trade of the period between the two World Wars.

This emphasis on Leeds is balanced by Gordon Forster's study of civic government in Chester in the civil war period, B. J. Barber's examination of the part played in the development of eighteenth-century Wakefield by the landowner John Lee, J. R. Killick's essay on Liverpool merchants and American shipping in the nineteenth century and by two studies of the north-east: W. B. Stephens on illiteracy in the nineteenth-century Tyne coalfield and Norman McCord on observations of Victorian Newcastle in the diary of Richard Lowry. There are two contributions which describe changes in the countryside and the suburbs during the industrial revolution. Paul Barnwell shows how reconstruction of farms in Northumberland and Cheshire took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as part of landowners' commitment to 'progressive' farming, although the connection between such improvement and the growth of urban markets is not pursued. Keith Allison provides a detailed study of how the urban poor of the towns of the East Riding supplemented their diet and income by the use of allotment gardens.

The volume is produced in the usual *Northern History* format. It is, in general, well illustrated, and there is a bibliography of Maurice Beresford's publications. There is no index.

Sheffield

David Crossley

THE BOLTON PRIORY COMPOTUS 1286–1325 TOGETHER WITH A PRIORY ACCOUNT ROLL FOR 1377–1378. Edited by IAN KERSHAW and DAVID M. SMITH with the assistance of T. N. COOPER. 23.5 x 15.5 cm. Pp. x and 636. Maps 2. YAS Record Series, vol. CLIV for 1999 and 2000. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2000. Price: £38 subscribers, £42 YAS members, £50 others. ISBN 0 902122 93 2.

The volume of accounts from Bolton Priory that is in the archives of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth is a record of great interest and importance. In his introduction to the present edition, Professor Kershaw demonstrates carefully and lucidly what these accounts are, just what part they played in the administration of this relatively small Augustinian house in Wharfedale. He also shows that we see their early development: the earliest accounts in the volume were probably the earliest that were drawn up in this form. Their basis was the account of cash receipts and expenditure that the priory's receiver submitted every year (the separate roll of the receivers' account for 1377–78 is also printed). To these there came to be added other records, among them a list of the calculated profit of each of the priory's properties, the granarer's record of corn received from demesne lands and other sources and what happened to it, and an account of the livestock throughout the estate. Only two of the priory's obedientiaries, the sacrist and the refectorer, managed funds that lay outside the receiver's purview, and these accounted for little of the priory's income. In effect the volume gives us an all but complete balance sheet, a full conspectus of the priory's finances over forty years. 'The account of the monastery' (*Compotus monasterii*), the opening words of the heading to each year's account, was not far wide of the mark.

The accounts were the principal source for Professor Kershaw's valuable monograph on the Bolton Priory and its estates, which appeared in 1973. Since then everyone interested in the economy of medieval monasteries and their estates has hoped for the publication of the documents themselves. This has now come about through the work of, first, Dr Tim Cooper, then Professor David Smith, in translating and preparing the text. It is given here in full, in the original Latin, meticulously edited and set out with great clarity. Apart from its opening pages, which are partly or wholly lost, the condition of the manuscript is excellent, a reminder that records are preserved better in books than in the rolls that are the usual form of medieval accounts. More perhaps might

be said about the hands that wrote the accounts in the volume — we are told that each account was normally the work of a single writer — and a picture of at least one of its pages would have been a great help in envisaging the original record. Very properly, the editors have retained the roman numerals of the original, but we might query the use of square brackets for two quite different purposes: not only, as normal, to supply letters or words lost from the text, but also to extend abbreviated words where the correct extension might be open to doubt.

But these are small technical points. The book is a mine of information on an even wider range of topics than we would expect from simple manorial accounts — as we see from the excellent index, sixty-six pages long. We learn most, of course, about the parts of Wharfedale and Airedale where most of the priory's estates lay, but its interests extended further afield: thus the record includes an account of its newly acquired manor at Holmpton, in Holderness, in 1307–08, and there were regular purchases at St Botolph's fair, Boston. In all, a most welcome publication, on which all concerned are to be warmly congratulated.

Durham

P. D. A. Harvey

BLOOD RED ROSES. THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF A MASS GRAVE FROM THE BATTLE OF TOWTON, AD 1461. Edited by VERONICA FIORATO, ANTHEA BOYLSTON and CHRISTOPHER KNUSEL. 28 x 21.5 cm. Pp. x and 277. Illus 252 (36 in colour). Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2000. Price not stated. ISBN 1-84217-0252.

The chance discovery in July 1996 of a mass grave alongside Towton Hall led to the research project of which this is the final report. The editors, helped by nine other specialists, have assembled an impressive report which will stand as a model of its kind, superseding that by Thordeman (1939) who examined over a thousand skeletons in four mass burial pits from the battle of Wisby in 1361. The initial discovery of twenty-three or more skeletons led to further controlled excavation of the mass grave, revealing another thirty-eight near complete skeletons and parts of fourteen more. All were males in the age group sixteen to fifty with an average age of thirty. Many showed trauma injuries, mainly to the skull. A few bodies had associated finds: one had three silver finger rings, another grave had an armour attachment and a number had lace tags. The excavation work (Burgess) is preceded by an account of the topography (Fiorato) and followed by an assessment of how to excavate and record similar mass graves (Sutherland). This introduction in turn led to four related but fuller studies. The first concerns the history of Towton and Saxton, an account of the course of the battle (both by Boardman) and an assessment of the field remains (Sutherland), including an appraisal of recent metal-detecting discoveries on the battlefield, mainly finds of dress accessories and not the anticipated weapons.

The second aspect is both the fullest in length and the one likely to have the widest application for other British battlefield studies. Five well-integrated chapters (Boylston, Coughlan, Holst, Knusel, Novak) discuss the burials. The physical anthropology indicates a wide range of age, stature and physique. A discussion of the overall health shows a few but varied diseases. Additionally one-third of the burials had well-healed fractures mostly to limbs and none to the ribs. There was evidence of good dental health though with trauma from battlefield injuries and tooth wear for which the suggested cause was archers stringing their bows. Battle-related injuries were multiple head wounds and facial mutilation resulting first from hand-to-hand conflict and then from an incapacity to defend oneself against blade injuries from swords and blunt force blows from maces or clubs. As well as the injuries, the skeletons revealed a highly active group of men skilled in strenuous activities with sword, staff or bow. These five chapters are supported by detailed case studies of each skeleton and its pathology. Members of the osteology team from Bradford University have provided this substantial contribution.

Another asset to the editors was the presence in Leeds of the Royal Armouries. Unlike the battle of Wisby, finds of armour and weaponry were few. However, four chapters (Richardson, Rimer, Waller) examine closely the range of weapons, the skills in archery, the protective armour and the combat techniques. Although one skull injury can be attributed to a pole-axe (shown by the dramatic colour illustration on the front cover), the absence of rib injuries is explained by use of

padded jackets or metal-plated brigandines, whilst the frequency of head injuries may result from the soldiers discarding their iron caps or sallets during flight. The lack of self-defence injuries causes Knusel to comment 'One is left to wonder when a rout ends and a massacre begins'.

The protection of battlefields in England and Wales is the topic of the final chapter (Fiorato) with associated questionnaire and tables. Although there are records of 199 battle sites in England (twenty-two in Yorkshire), the few archaeological investigations have been small-scale and certainly not with the range of support facilities that were assembled for this excavation. When the number of combatant deaths recorded at Towton was 28,000, a detailed examination of fewer than fifty has only scratched the surface of the archaeological potential.

This volume contains enough easily explained topics to satisfy the general reader, yet it also provides a detailed discussion of the palaeopathology to stimulate the medical expert. It has a user-friendly index. There are a few criticisms. Because there is no List of Illustrations and no initial reference to the colour plates, the reader has to search through the volume before finding them unpaginated between pages 118–19. Many of these colour photographs complement the text in excellent fashion. However the twelve illustrations of battlefield finds from metal-detecting have only the briefest of captions; they would have been far more informative if they had been supported by a catalogue, especially of the coins and an inscribed purse-frame, and by some discussion of parallels, very necessary for the 'weapon-related artefacts' when one appears to be a rowel-spur. The Mr Ogden ('presumably a local landowner') who paid for the re-erection of the medieval Towton cross, was a noted antiquary of Harrogate, founder of the YAS branch there and a generous benefactor to the excavations at Carchemish and Nineveh.

The value of this report lies in the thoroughness with which the burials are placed within the context of the battle and the skill with which the battle is set within the historic landscape.

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

SYLLOGE OF COINS OF THE BRITISH ISLES 49. THE NORWEB COLLECTION, CLEVELAND, OHIO, U.S.A. TOKENS OF THE BRITISH ISLES 1575–1750, PART VI, WILTSHIRE TO YORKSHIRE, IRELAND TO WALES. By R. H. THOMPSON and M. J. DICKINSON. 25 x 19 cm. Pp. lxxi and 264. Pls 43. London, Spink and Son Ltd, 1999. Price: £25. ISBN 0 902040 33 3.

This volume is part VI of a series of Sylloge volumes cataloguing the large and famous numismatic collection owned by the Norweb family. In 1973 R. Henry and Emery May Norweb invited Robert Thompson to catalogue the tokens in their collection with a view to publication. Although Mr Norweb died in 1983 and Mrs Norweb in 1984, the publication of their collection has continued with the support of their family. The token collection alone numbers 13,000 items in total, including rare and unique pieces and unpublished types. The family was particularly interested in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire tokens and the latter are said to comprise one of the best collections ever formed. It is sad to relate that two significant Yorkshire collections of seventeenth-century trade tokens at Leeds and Hull both suffered extensive damage during the Second World War when the respective museums were bombed.

The catalogue opens with a discussion of Sir William Petty (1623–87), who was responsible for issuing and possibly manufacturing tokens at his ironworks at Glanarought in Ireland. William Petty was a political economist, a founder of the Royal Society and a writer on the subject of money. In his 1682 *Quantulumcunque concerning Money*, he set out in question and answer form the advantages to the economy of using paper money.

The bulk of the publication is devoted to seventeenth-century trade tokens from Wiltshire to Yorkshire and from Ireland to Wales. The multitude of seventeenth-century tokens published here owe their existence to the fact that between the end of the English Civil War in 1649 and 1672 there was a scarcity of lower denomination coins used in everyday transactions. Shopkeepers and innkeepers in cities, towns and even villages up and down the country issued farthing and halfpenny tokens to satisfy the needs of trade and for the public convenience. The tokens usually recorded the name of the issuer and the date, some representation of the business or trade, the place of

issue and the value. Consequently tradesmen's tokens are a fascinating source of information for local historians.

New metal-detected discoveries, study of existing collections and extensive local history research have all shed new light on the tokens. This catalogue has, for example, a new attribution of a seventeenth-century token to Leeds. Phineas Lambc and Thomas Hardwick's token, previously of uncertain origin, is now attributed to the town because both men had offspring christened there. This 'gain' for Leeds is balanced by a 'loss' to the region: Thomas Reader's halfpenny token formerly thought to be of York is now attributed to Bredgar in Kent. The quality and extent of the Norweb collection offers the opportunity for further research. One reverse die used by three different issuers in Leeds is represented by their tokens in the Norweb collection.

The catalogue is arranged alphabetically by county, place-name and surname of issuer, with black and white plates of the tokens on the right hand side, details on the left and cross-references where the same place-name occurs in a different county. There is a detailed index and classification to make searches easier. The availability in a single volume of photographs of many of the seventeenth-century tokens issued in this region will be of great convenience to researchers and curators and cannot be overestimated. Unfortunately the quality of some of the plates was disappointing. For example the obverse of Joseph Oddie's Leeds token (no. 5952) is very dark — not that this is a serious impediment for those with access to catalogues of seventeenth-century tokens. This minor criticism should not spoil enjoyment of what is a major undertaking and achievement.

Leeds Museums and Galleries

Bryan Stith

THE MEMOIRS AND MEMORIALS OF SIR HUGH CHOLMLEY OF WHITBY, 1600–1657. Edited by JACK BINNS. 23.5 x 15.5 cm. Pp. xxii and 205. Illus 11. YAS Record Series, vol. CLIII for 1997 and 1998. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, 2000. Price: £50. ISBN 0 902122 83 5.

In this recent publication of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series Dr Jack Binns brings together the writings of Sir Hugh Cholmley of Whitby, who led the heroic Royalist defence of Scarborough Castle during the Civil War siege of 1645. Apart from this episode, Sir Hugh's life before and after the Civil War as a landowner around Whitby is less well known, but thanks to this publication we now have the whole story before us.

Sir Hugh Cholmley's writings were penned at different times for different reasons. He wrote the Memoirs a year before his death in 1657, apparently intending them as a moral tract for the instruction of his two sons and their descendants. As a result Sir Hugh felt compelled to write not only of his own life and that of his beloved wife Elizabeth, but also of his ancestors back to Sir Richard Cholmley who purchased the Whitby Abbey site in 1540 and began the long association between the family and the Whitby area. There is much in the Memoirs to interest the social historian with its details of family life between the Reformation and the Civil War, particularly as to the prominent role played by the female members of the Cholmley dynasty. Sir Hugh termed the other three writings his Memorials. They date from 1648 when he was in exile in Rouen and they were written at the request of Sir Edmund Hyde who was gathering information for his account of the First Civil War. The longest, and arguably most valuable, of the three Memorials is Sir Hugh's first-hand account of his actions at Scarborough from the beginning of the Civil War to the surrender of the castle in July 1645. The other two Memorials are on the Hothams of Hull and on the battle of Marston Moor. Although Sir Hugh was not a participant in the battle, his account is undoubtedly based on conversations with senior Royalist officers immediately following their defeat as they waited at Scarborough for passage overseas.

Dr Binns's preface and introductory sections account for almost a third of the publication and in them he deploys his mastery of the primary sources to present a clear and well-written account of the Cholmleys both as a family and as land-owners. Dr Binns also unravels the history of the Memoirs, and he provides an interesting insight into Sir Hugh's attitude to his neighbours, the Hobys of Hackness, and to his wife and deceased infant daughter through an assessment of various textual alterations evident in the manuscript. Those with an interest in the Civil War and in the social history of the period will find much of interest in this publication whilst the local historian

is now better able to appreciate the importance of the Cholmley family to Whitby, especially since several documents concerning Whitby in the seventeenth century appear in the appendices. The 'Memorials tuching Scarbrough' complement Dr Binns's recent publication on Scarborough in the Civil War, and with the two volumes of Scarborough records published ten years ago by the North Yorkshire County Record Office, the seventeenth century is undoubtedly the best studied period of Scarborough's history. In conclusion, although the use of hand-drawn sketch maps to illustrate the Cholmley Lease Book is at odds with the calibre of this publication, the overall production of the volume is a credit to the Record Series.

York

Trevor Pearson

ARTISTS AND CRAFTSMEN IN HULL AND EAST YORKSHIRE. By ARTHUR G. CREDLAND. 16 x 21 cm. Pp. 224. Illus 208 (26 in colour). Hull Museums and Art Gallery, Hull, 2000. Price: £7.50 plus £1.75 p.&p. ISBN 0-904490-23-8.

Throughout their 180-year history, the Kingston upon Hull museums have been the major centre for the study, collection and presentation of the rich regional culture of East Yorkshire. Despite major setbacks, such as the destruction of their main museum in the Hull blitz, they still hold one of the finest regional collections and employ staff whose considerable local knowledge and expertise extend far beyond the museum walls to embrace locally made artefacts throughout the whole country. Anyone who has ever requested their help has been impressed by their high standard of scholarship, reflecting a considerable body of unique knowledge which has, until now, remained largely unpublished.

In the present *tour de force*, a dozen chapters present detailed histories of the region's artists, builders, architects, sculptors, silversmiths, furniture makers, ship fitters, wood carvers, clock-makers, gunsmiths, potters and wallpaper printers from the sixteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. Every entry is truly authoritative, utilising all available sources to present detailed biographies of individual artists and craftsmen, and their particular achievements. In addition, there are 169 high-quality photographs, some in full colour, of artefacts, paintings, portraits, workshop interiors and exteriors, and trade cards, all well chosen to provide the reader with a real appreciation of the range and excellence of local creativity. One of its chief strengths is that it does not consider the fine and decorative arts in isolation, but shows them to be an essential, integral part of the social and economic life of the whole community. It does have one great and unforgivable fault, however. Although there are full footnotes, there is neither index nor bibliography, omissions which will frustrate any reader trying to tap into the work's wealth of information.

Clearly this book will be invaluable to anyone interested in Hull and the East Riding, but it really has a far greater significance. It is the first comprehensive review of the creative output of any English region. In this, it proves that 'provincial' means neither 'second-rate' nor 'old-fashioned', many items being at least the equal of their metropolitan contemporaries. It also emphasises the importance of artists and craftsmen to their local communities, especially before their role was largely swept away by the late nineteenth-century development of centralised mass-production and mass-marketing in the decorative arts.

The City of Kingston upon Hull and its associated sponsors are to be greatly congratulated for their enlightened policy of publishing a book such as this. Here is no fashionably ephemeral, 'dumbed-down' and 'interpreted' version of history, but, instead, a work of real scholarship and value, which will be consulted by those interested in regional culture for many years to come.

Leeds

Peter Brears

THE DON POTTERY, 1801-1893. By JOHN D. GRIFFIN. 23.5 x 30.5 cm. Pp. xii and 240. Illus 304, many in colour. J. W. Northend Ltd, Sheffield, 2001. Price: £30, p.&p. £5.50. ISBN 0 903524 295. Only available from Doncaster Museum & Art Gallery.

The author's enthusiasm for and knowledge of his subject are self-evident. Mr Griffin's interest in

the Don Pottery in fact began forty years ago, and since then he has painstakingly researched the history of the two families who ran the Pottery for virtually all of the nineteenth century, producing different ranges of wares. Although it was one of Yorkshire's largest potteries, until now very little has actually been written about this Pottery or its products. This authoritative publication certainly remedies this.

The book deals with the period under the Greens separately from that under the Barkers. Much of the volume is taken up with the former, covering the years 1801–34. Besides an exhaustive description of the founder John Green's life, work and family, there is also a useful assessment of the Pottery's location, a list of potters pieced together from various sources in the absence of any factory records, details of partnership arrangements, and the subsequent bankruptcy of John and William Green in 1834 and the purchase in 1839 of the Pottery by Samuel Barker. The second, and much smaller, section is concerned with the Barkers, most notably remembered for the strike of 1845 protesting at the introduction of a new machine called the 'Jolly' to speed up the process of earthenware manufacture and reduce the unit cost of production.

Important as this work is in bringing to light information about the Pottery's owners and operations, it is the other side of the author's research into the wares themselves that will make this an invaluable book of reference for collectors and others interested in the Don Pottery. Again divided into the two periods, the means of identifying the pieces — marks, pattern numbers where they exist, shapes, etc. — have been carefully and methodically assembled. Only one complete copy of a design book is known to have survived, though unfortunately without the date of publication, and this has been reproduced. This is followed by colour illustrations of examples of the Pottery's output, accompanied by very full text descriptions. The examples of Don botanical wares are particularly beautiful, though sadly the actual work cannot be attributed to identified painters. In addition, the story of 'Orange Jumper', including his identity, is told in more detail than previously. Interestingly, though later, rather less survives for the Barker period in the way of examples. This may have been because in general 'a commoner class' of earthenware was being produced and so less was preserved. In addition, the bulk was probably sent for export. Whatever the reason, what is available has been faithfully illustrated, though in the author's words 'after the wealth of fine and varied pieces which it has been possible to assemble to illustrate the Greens' period . . . the paucity of specimens available [from the Barkers' time] is very marked.'

The volume concludes with various appendices, a very useful bibliography and glossary, and an index. Lavishly illustrated and based on in-depth original research, this book greatly extends what was known about the Pottery and the range of what was produced. Doncaster Museum Service is to be congratulated for its support in making publication possible.

Claremont, Leeds

Robert Frost

IN SICKNESS AND IN HEALTH: ASKRIGG EQUITABLE, BENEVOLENT, AND FRIENDLY SOCIETY 1809–2000. By CHRISTINE HALLAS. 21 x 15 cm. Pp. xii and 104. Illus 14. William Sessions Ltd, York, 2000. Price: £6.50 (plus £1.50 p.&p.). ISBN 1 85072 258 7. Available from The Ebor Press, York YO31 9HS.

This most welcome account of the Askrigg Friendly Society, founded in 1809 and still flourishing, demonstrates the wealth of information that can be gleaned from an intensive study of the records of an individual society. Historians have until recently largely ignored friendly societies, although they formed the largest and most representative working-class organisation in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Interest in the topic is growing, and in 1999 the Open University established the Friendly Societies Research Group.

Christine Hallas, after discussing the foundation of the society, charts the fluctuating membership, with details of occupations and age profile. Chapters follow on the rules, finances and benefits of the society and its contribution to the social life of Askrigg. The society's annual feast and sports was a red-letter day in the community when members who had moved away returned for the anniversary meeting. Friendly society records are an untapped source on rural migration. One of the most interesting tables in the book gives details of the deaths of members or their wives in the

years 1865–1945. Of the thirty-six people listed, over a third were then living away from Wensleydale in Blackburn, Burnley, Leeds, Bradford, Middlesbrough, South Shields, Durham and Darlington.

The book is well illustrated with an excellent series of photographs of members on their annual feast day. They are accompanied by a banner, displaying much the same symbolism as the banners of Oddfellows' lodges. The banner, purchased in 1881 and still in use today, appears on the earliest photograph, which must therefore be later than the given date of 1880. A minor criticism of the book concerns the reproduction of several 'fake' documents where the printer has used a variety of fonts to emulate the typeface and handwriting of the original, a practice not to be encouraged.

Although numerous friendly societies, especially branches of the affiliated orders (Oddfellows, Foresters, Gardeners, Shepherds and Druids), have closed in the past twenty years, they are still to be found in many Yorkshire towns and villages. It is to be hoped that Christine Hallas's excellent study will encourage others to explore the history of their local friendly societies and pursue the preservation of any surviving records and regalia.

Beverley

David Neave

A GUIDE TO THE DONCASTER ARCHIVES. By BRIAN BARBER. 29.5 x 21 cm. Pp. vi and 130. Maps 2. Waterdale Press, Doncaster, 2001. Price: £4.75 (plus £1.25 p.&p.). ISBN 0 906976 50 2. Obtainable from Doncaster Archives, King Edward Road, Doncaster DN4 0NA.

Until 1973 there was no professionally staffed archive service in Doncaster. This guide amply shows the progress that, thanks to a succession of enterprising archivists, has since been made. It is not a prestige publication, not a coffee-table guide with coloured pictures or a preface by a politician. It is an informative and practical summary, economically produced on A4 and put together by the present archivist, who is an expert on local government history.

The lucid introduction contains sections on Family History, which today of course has to come first, Local History and, very usefully, archives kept elsewhere which relate to the area of the present Metropolitan Borough. There are clear maps and reliable indexes.

Local authority records commence with Richard I's charter to the former borough of Doncaster. We may regret the loss of post-1837 Poor Law records — a reminder that for many things local archive services came too late — but not everyone has a racecourse. The range of estate archives, including the recently reassembled Battie-Wrightson collection, and of parish, nonconformist and business records is impressive. It is also good to see listed the Mineworkers' Internationale, the Revolutionary Workers' Party and that irascible campaigner for the environment and unrelenting foe of petty officials and big business, the late William Bunting.

RIPON MARKET PLACE: THE EVOLUTION OF THE CENTRE OF A HISTORIC YORKSHIRE TOWN. Edited by MIKE YOUNG. 24.5 x 16.5 cm. Pp. xiv and 150. Illus 202 (10 in colour). Ripon Historical Society and Ripon, Harrogate and District Family History Group, 2001. ISBN 1 872618 200. Currently out of print. Enquire of Ripon Historical Society, c/o Aldergarth, Galphay, Ripon HG4 3NJ.

Ripon Historical Society marked the new millennium with this collaborative volume on the town's market place. Short chapters at the start of the book cover the history of the market place from the creation of the borough in the early thirteenth century, but most of the work consists of histories of the individual burgage plots around the market place over the last four hundred years, based on deeds and surveys. Little is said about the actual buildings on the sites, and a contribution from an architectural historian would have enhanced the work. Readers will, however, find compensation in the well chosen illustrations in this attractive and well produced volume. So popular has it proved that the first edition sold out in six months.

RELIGION, BUSINESS AND SOCIETY IN NORTH-EAST ENGLAND: THE PEASE FAMILY OF DARLINGTON IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By ANNE ORDE. 23 x 15.5 cm. Pp. x and 131. Illus 18. Studies in North-Eastern History, Shaun Tyas, Stamford, 2001. Price: £30 (hbk) and £19.95 (pbk). ISBN 1 900289 393 (hbk); 1 900289 407 (pbk). Obtainable from Shaun Tyas, 1 High Street, Donington, Lincs. PE11 4TA.

The Peases are one of those Quaker families who have been so prominent in the business and industrial history of this country. Starting in the woollen industry, they branched out into banking, railways, iron and coal. Although they were mainly associated with Darlington, where they dominated public life in the nineteenth century, their business interests brought them into Cleveland, where they expanded the Stockton and Darlington railway network, mined ironstone and limestone and were involved in the development of Middlesbrough. Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease owned the Pinchinthorpe estate and lived in nearby Hutton Hall, which he had rebuilt, while Cleveland and York City had Pease MPs in the late nineteenth century. Anne Orde surveys the family's activities in business, politics and social life and considers the influence of their Quakerism.

CATHOLIC CHILDHOODS: CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN YORK, 1850–1914. By SUZANNE ROBERTS. 21 x 14.5 cm. Pp. iv and 40. Borthwick Paper No. 99, 2001. Price: £4 (plus p.&p.). ISSN 0524–0913. Obtainable from Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, St Anthony's Hall, Peaseholme Green, York YO1 7PW.

ECHOES IN THE PLAYGROUND: A HISTORY OF ST PETER'S CATHOLIC SCHOOL IN DONCASTER. By ANNE WHITEHEAD. 21 x 15.5 cm. Pp. 191. Illus 66. Bogdanovic Books, Exeter, 2000. Price: £5 (plus p. and p.). ISBN 0–95386–980–6. Obtainable from Bogdanovic Books, 113 Okehampton Road, St Thomas, Exeter EX4 1EP.

Immigration from Ireland in the nineteenth century greatly increased the Roman Catholic population of Great Britain. In York a second Catholic parish was created, and a new church built for the existing one, while St Peter ad Vincula in Doncaster was rebuilt to accommodate a larger congregation. The establishment of Catholic elementary schools, as Suzanne Roberts explains, was seen as equally necessary if the newcomers were to be kept within the church and assimilated into the English Catholic community. These two books show that policy at work in individual schools — those serving the parishes of St Wilfrid's and St George's in York and St Peter's School, Doncaster, which catered for children in Doncaster and surrounding villages. Themes common to both books include poor attendance and high staff turnover in the early years, the contribution of orders of teaching nuns, the emphasis on religious education, and the processions and festivities for special occasions which enlivened school life. Anne Whitehead sets the history of St Peter's School against the background of Doncaster's development as an industrial town and describes living conditions and public health problems there. In her later chapters she draws increasingly on the reminiscences of former pupils and teachers and her own memories. Suzanne Roberts does not neglect the local background, but also takes a wider view, considering educational policy, theological developments and the Catholic Church's attitude to nationality. She concludes that the history of Catholic education is largely a success story. Both books demonstrate fruitful approaches to educational history.

All communications about the editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Joint Editors: C. A. Collinson and J. M. Collinson, 100 Beckett's Park Drive, Lceds, LS6 3PL. Contributions should be prepared in accordance with the Notes for Contributors printed in volume 72 (2000). A copy of these may be had from the Editors, who will be happy to discuss informally any proposed article on the archaeology or history of the historic county of Yorkshire in any period.

Enquiries about the Society's publications should be addressed to the Sales Officer, at **Claremont, 23 Clarendon Road, Leeds, LS2 9NZ**, from whom a List of Publications, regularly updated, may be obtained. Volumes of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* from vol. 62 (1990) at present cost £8 (members) and £12 (non-members), with £2.50 postage and packing. For prices of earlier issues and offprints of recent articles, please apply to the Sales Officer.

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In addition, some Sections of the Society produce regular publications, which may also be obtained from Claremont.

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CONTENTS OF VOLUME 74

	page
LITHIC ARROWHEADS OF THE CRAVEN AREA..... <i>R. S. RICHARDSON, J. A. RICHARDSON and J. A. THORP</i>	1
ALDBOROUGH ROMAN TOWN: EXCAVATIONS BY MISS D. CHARLESWORTH, 1961-73, AND BY RCHME, 1959-60 <i>MARGARET SNAPE, PAUL BIDWELL and ALEXANDRA CROOM with contributions by A. ASPINALL, BRENDA DICKINSON, KAY HARTLEY, JOY LANGSTON and STEVEN WILLIS</i>	29
THE RE-EXCAVATION AND STUDY OF THE HELICON MOSAIC, ALDBOROUGH ROMAN TOWN <i>STEPHEN JOHNSON and DAVID S. NEAL, edited by MARGARET SNAPE, with contributions by C. BRONK RAMSEY, ALEXANDRA CROOM, ANNA CSELIK, JOY LANGSTON and PETER MARSHALL</i>	113
SOME 'REDISCOVERED' ROMAN FINDS FROM ALDBOROUGH AND VICTORIA CAVE, SETTLE..... <i>MARTIN J. DEARNE with a contribution by DAVID SHOTTER</i>	135
FOUR COIN HOARDS FROM NORTH YORKSHIRE..... <i>CRAIG BARCLAY</i>	151
FLAXTON: A TOWNSHIP IN TWO PARISHES <i>DAVID BOURNE</i>	155
THE FORTUNES OF THE TEMPEST FAMILY OF BRACEWELL AND BOWLING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY <i>R. W. HOYLE</i>	169
THE ORIGINS OF A YORKSHIRE DYNASTY: THE WILSONS OF ESHTON HALL..... <i>HERBERT MASTERSON</i>	191
THE JACOBITES OF YORKSHIRE <i>JONATHAN OATES</i>	205
RETAILING AT SELBY IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY..... <i>ROGER A. BELLINGHAM</i>	219
JAMES JEPSON BINNS: A YORKSHIRE ORGAN-BUILDER <i>KENNETH C. JACKSON</i>	235
OBITUARY: TOM FRENCH.....	247
BOOK REVIEWS	249